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The Shape of Things

THE BRITISH TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT NOW comprises eight million workers, and with unemployment negligible, its economic leverage is greater than ever before. Not unnaturally, single unions and individual members of unions would like to take advantage of this situation to press for higher wages, particularly as the trend of prices continues upward. Nevertheless, the annual Trades Union Congress last week gave heed to the pleas of Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Stafford Cripps and sharply rejected a resolution condemning the Labor government's wage-stabilization policy. Cripps's arguments were ones he has made very familiar since he became responsible for British economic policy a year ago. "There is only one way," he said, "in which we can, with a given volume of employment, increase our real standard of living, and that is by each of us producing more." To achieve this end, he added, "either we must use more muscle or more brains, and I am in favor of more brains. I'd rather see a new method and new machinery than longer hours of work. It is only those most bankrupt of ideas who insist that the only way to increase production is to make other people work harder and longer hours." Some American commentators have expressed astonished satisfaction that a Socialist should reveal the facts of economic life in this manner. Actually, of course, no responsible Socialist has ever claimed that national standards of living can be improved except through more production. But they have insisted that the key to greater productivity is a fairer distribution of the wealth produced. And it is precisely because, in Britain today, a Labor government is consciously, and to a considerable degree successfully, pursuing a policy of "fair shares" that the trade-union movement is willing to put national needs above sectional interests.

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IF WE DID NOT KNOW THAT THE SPEECH delivered last week by Harold Stassen had the advance approval of Governor Dewey, we would have suspected sabotage. Mr. Stassen, presumably because he was free of the taint of the Eightieth Congress, was chosen to answer the President's Labor Day speech, in which Mr. Truman had trained his fire on the Taft-Hartley act and high prices. The university president managed in one address to complete the alienation of labor and to give the farmers almost as severe a jolt. Trade unionists were told that the Taft-Hartley law had "resulted in a great benefit to the ranks of labor" and that none of them who were "fairminded and thoughtful" would ever want to go back to the anarchic days of 1946. To the farmers he brought the word that inflation was attributable, at least in part, to the "unsound policies of the Administration." Taken in conjunction with comments made a few days earlier, these policies could only be identified as the price-support program and government purchasing of farm commodities. So disturbing was the effect of these remarks in the farm belt that Republican Representative Clifford R. Hope, regarded as a leading contender for the Agriculture portfolio in a Dewey Cabinet, hastened to set his own party straight. He himself, he told an Iowa audience, had helped draft the farm-support program, and "no matter what political orators may say between now and November 2, we all know that the basic cause of inflation is too much money and too little goods." Like the editor of *Barron's*, we can only conclude that if Mr. Stassen's task is to "try to capture the farm vote for Mr. Dewey, he surely has found a peculiar way of going after it."

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A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THE STATESMANSHIP of the economy-minded Eightieth Congress may be found in its handling of the oversized potato crop. Because of the unfavorable publicity which the burning and destruction of a large part of the 1947 crop received, Congress arranged for the Department of Agriculture to convert the 1948 "surplus" of 450,000,000 pounds into flour by selling it to the army at $1 a hundred pounds, although the same amount of wheat flour might have been bought for much less. When the price paid the growers and the expense of milling are figured in, the flour will actually cost twenty-five times as much as wheat flour. According to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, "the cost of converting potatoes into flour is so great that the government could pay the growers $1.55 a bushel to destroy the potatoes on the farm, make the railroads a present of 40 cents a bushel for freight, buy a bushel of wheat flour, and still save money by forgetting the potato-flour project entirely." To date, this latest example of Republican economy has cost the Treasury $170,000,000. Unfortunately, there doesn't seem to be any committee willing to "investigate" this subversive venture into the realm of scarcity economics.

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
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Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
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Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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WHEN ANDREI ZHDANOV DIED, A FEW WEEKS ago, it was inevitable for the prophetic to speculate on possible changes in Soviet policy. As founder and guiding spirit of the Cominform, Zhdanov was particularly identified with the campaign against Marshal Tito, and it was thought by some that the Kremlin might take advantage of his death to close the Russian-Yugoslav breach and end a rebellion that had got out of hand. It must be clear by now that no such development was in the cards. If anything, the assault on Tito has increased in violence since Zhdanov's death. In a half-page editorial last week, *Pravda* charged the "Tito faction" with operating "a cruel terrorist regime, with repressions, mass arrests, and murder" (all rather shocking to the Soviet mind). What is even more definitive, "Tito is presently in one general camp with the imperialists, pouring filth over the Communist parties of the people's democracies and the U. S. S. R." And, most significant of all, *Pravda* hopefully drives a wedge between the regime and the majority of the Yugoslav Communist Party, which "does not approve of the nationalist policy of the Tito group." Whether or not it is true that Stalin disapproved of the way Zhdanov handled the Yugoslavs, as has been widely reported, the course of the Kremlin is apparently fixed. Tito is to be cut down, lest the infection of his nationalism spread to other satellites, to the intolerable disadvantage of Russian nationalism. The summary treatment of Tito has already had a marked effect in Poland, where Vice-Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka has publicly repented his own "nationalist deviations" and indorsed a purge of his followers, there being no room in the party, as he put it, for "Yugoslav-like apostasies."

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THE STATEMENT OF EIGHT OF THE LEADING atomic scientists of the country that the Thomas committee is endangering national security through its "objectionable smear tactics" was very much to the point. The charge was presented by telegram last week to President Truman and Governor Dewey. Its signers, all of whom played prominent roles in the development of the atomic bomb, asserted that the "combined full-time personnel of highly capable scientists and engineers in the various [government] laboratories is on the verge of reaching a dangerously low level," and that, since the war, younger men in particular have left the projects in droves. Many have gone because they object to having such groups as the Un-American Activities Committee question their trustworthiness and refuse to subject themselves any longer to the possibility of irresponsible smears that may ruin them professionally. Frequently, they prefer to work for considerably lower salaries on private research programs completely unconnected with our atomic endeavors. Needless to say, the men who signed the statement—such men as Dr. Harold C. Urey

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—were not condemning reasonable precautions against espionage. They were objecting, rather, to the low level —of responsibility and of documentation—on which the Thomas committee operates. We hope the scientists who drew up this protest will not let it stop at that. Their calm and sensible statement, if it were signed not by eight scientists, however eminent, but by ten thousand scientists—and that should not be too difficult to bring about—might make a dent on the Thomas committee, and on the Congress that provides it with spending money.

*

THE PROBLEM OF THE FORMER ITALIAN colonies, which is being considered once again at a Big Four meeting this week, would not be easily soluble even if it were uncomplicated by international rivalries and American Presidential politics. All parties involved give lip-service, at least, to the principle that the inhabitants of these African territories should have some say about their ultimate disposal. Unfortunately, in none of the colonies have the people spoken with a clear and united voice. The Four Power Commission of Investigation, which spent months gathering evidence, found that in Italian Somaliland an Italian trusteeship might prove acceptable as a *pis aller*. But in Libya and Eritrea, it uncovered sharp divisions of opinion. The inhabitants of the first agreed in rejecting Italian rule and in asking for independence, but in little else. In Cyrenaica, the tribesmen, who in 1942 received a firm pledge from Britain that they would never be handed back to Italy, hope for a unified Libya ruled by their prince, the Grand Senussi. The rather more advanced and settled Tripolitanians reject this proposal. There is even stronger disagreement in Eritrea between the Moslem peoples of the coastal region, who demand independence after a brief period of trusteeship, and the Christian highlanders, who want union with their contiguous Ethiopian kinfolk. And the whole of Eritrea is claimed by the Ethiopian government, which is seeking access to the sea, both on historical grounds and as compensation for its losses by Italian aggression.

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THESE CONFLICTING ASPIRATIONS AFFORD opportunity for the great powers to select arguments supporting their own strategic and economic interests. Russia, having abandoned its original hopes of African mandates, is seeking to gain influence in Italy by backing Italian trusteeships for all the colonies. France is in accord as far as northern Libya is concerned: it requires a buffer between its own North African territories and the rampant nationalism of the Arab League. Britain obviously means to keep a grip on the bases it has built in Cyrenaica as an alternative to those lost in Palestine and Egypt. The United States has been sitting on the fence but may be pulled off it by Governor Dewey's recent bid for the Italian vote. Under these circumstances, it would be a major miracle if the meeting in Paris summoned on Soviet initiative produced any kind of agreement. But failing that, the problem must, by the terms of the Italian peace treaty, be handed over to the United Nations Assembly, where it is likely to remain a bone of bitter contention. We don't pretend to know whether there is any solution which is practicable as well as satisfactory to a majority of the friends of these colonies. Ideally, the best plan might be to hand over the trusteeships to entirely disinterested powers. But what inducement is there for, say, Denmark, to take on the difficult job of governing Libya? It would be a most expensive assignment, since that desert land calls for a heavy investment if it is ever to become self-supporting. The fact is that only nations with ulterior motives are likely to be willing to take responsibility for these otherwise undesirable pieces of African real estate.

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ABOUT 17 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION of Georgia voted in the Democratic primary last week. Roughly 9 per cent favored Herman Talmadge for governor, and 8 per cent supported M. E. Thompson. To our calculating eye, these figures would hardly seem to represent either a landslide for young Talmadge or a great outpouring of Georgia sentiment. Yet the results must clearly be put down as a setback. Talmadge's father, whose swampwoods demagogy the son has taken as a sacred model, ran second in the popular vote two years ago and won only by virtue of Georgia's county-unit system, which gives an enormous advantage to rural areas. The younger Talmadge can claim an outright popular majority, even if it is only 30,000 out of the half-million votes cast. It must be admitted, too, that Negro registration reached an all-time high for any Southern state, though there is no doubt that much of this potential anti-Talmadge vote was lost by intimidation. Klan crosses burned ominously in a number of communities on the eve of the primary, direct threats were common, foolish questions by election officials systematically slowed down the Negro vote—in one district to three an hour. And a Negro voter was killed in one rural community. A far cry from the victories of Ellis Arnall a few years back, the results would appear to be the answer of Georgia politicians to President Truman's civil-rights program, which Talmadge made almost the sole issue of his campaign. Unhappily, there was no one to fight him. Thompson tried to minimize the issue while proclaiming his own faith in white jingoism. The result was that the Arnall-Roosevelt forces supported him by default and without conviction. Their sole comfort is that since a Georgia governor may not succeed himself, the state has sentenced itself to only two years of "Young Hummon."

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HOW THE TAFT-HARTLEY LABOR LAW HAS interfered with the protection formerly provided to free collective bargaining by the Wagner act is dramatized by a recent unanimous decision of the National Labor Relations Board. A C. I. O. local of retail employees which had had contractual relations with its employers was on strike for economic benefits. An A. F. of L. union in the same field asked for recognition. Customarily, such issues about representation have been decided by a vote of the workers concerned. The Labor Board ruled in this case that, under the new law, the employees who were on strike had no right to vote, while those who replaced them could do so. This would seem to imply that any union which walks out is likely to lose its collective-bargaining rights if the employer can obtain strikebreakers to take the places of the strikers. In this case, the issue was complicated by the fact that the striking local had not filed the affidavits required by the law stating that its officers were not Communists, although the national union to which it belonged had done so. Yet the section of the Taft-Hartley law on which the action is based seems open to an interpretation which might be used for strike-breaking purposes.

The Hot Potato

ONE of the most interesting aspects of the banning of *The Nation* is the manner in which newspaper editors across the country have chosen to handle the incident. While the banning has received great attention in news columns everywhere, and while the coverage by New York City newspapers and by wire-service dispatches elsewhere has been thorough, largely accurate, and generally unslanted, not many editors have screwed up the courage to put together a few editorial words on this act of censorship which has such grave implications for all of them.

There have been some notable exceptions. New York's two liberal dailies, the *Post* and the *Star,* have several times urged a reconsideration of the edict of the Board of Superintendents. The *Post* wants Mayor O'Dwyer to hold a public hearing on the matter; the *Star*, more simply, feels that the board "did a disservice to education, . . . to the Catholic and all other faiths, and to the right of a free press." It suggests that Dr. William Jansen, the Superintendent of Schools, "move at once for a reversal of the ban."

Outside of New York, perhaps the best support of *The Nation* has appeared in syndicated form. Eleanor Roosevelt's quietly effective explanation of why she joined the Ad Hoc Committee to Fight the Ban appeared as her regular column in seventy-two American newspapers in late July. Although editors, of course, cannot be held responsible for Mrs. Roosevelt's words, readers in many instances took it that she spoke for the paper carrying her column, and wrote in to praise or to object. Quantitatively speaking, even more sweeping strokes against censorship were delivered, a few days before Mrs. Roosevelt wrote, by James Thrasher, the editorialist of the Newspaper Enterprise Association (N. E. A.). Mr. Thrasher's columns go out to 850 American newspapers and are printed in many of them as signed or unsigned editorials. On the matter of the ban, he told his readers—chiefly in the Southwest, the Mid-West, and in New England—that "it is incredible that the schools of the great city of New York should be in the charge of those who feel it their duty . . . to protect [future citizens] from controversy."

A few other comments are worth noting. The Pittsfield (Massachusetts) *Berkshire Eagle* pointed out that "the way to answer [Paul Blanshard's] articles is through the printed word in rebuttal, not by undermining a fundamental concept of our educational system." The Independence (Missouri) *News* wrote that Dr. Jansen had violated "fundamental American concepts of free press, free speech, [and] free thought." If you ban all the written works that are "offensive" to some group, said the *News,* you will be left only with "the telephone book and possibly—though not likely—the dictionary." And the *Christian Science Monitor* and the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* supported *The Nation,* the *Monitor* insisting that "it is by no means clear that the articles in question were an attack on a 'faith.' "

On the other side of the ledger, supporters of the ban—outside of the Catholic press—have been few and far between. There were plaudits for Dr. Jansen's action in the Bridgeport (Connecticut) *Telegram*, the Dayton (Ohio) *Journal,* the Radford (Virginia) *News-Journal,* and in Frank Coniff's pseudo-folksey column in the New York *Journal-American*, but not many others. And from a newspaper called the *Catholic Record*, across the border in London, Ontario, came a statement as startling as it will be encouraging to those who believe in freedom of the press. The action of the superintendents, this newspaper declared, "was somewhat hasty, and ill-considered. . . . It would have been different if the ban had applied only to Catholic schools, but to make it apply also to non-Catholics and others who attend the New York City public schools seems to us to be the wrong way of going about remedying the situation. The principle of free expression . . . can be, and [is], often abused, but . . . it is essential to safeguard this principle, especially in matters where the church is concerned." This Catholic opinion is respectfully referred to the attention of Dr. Jansen and his colleagues.

A final word should be said about the two greatest newspapers in the United States, the New York *Times* and the New York *Herald Tribune*. Both have devoted many news columns to the ban and each of its subse-

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quent developments, and their handling of it has been meticulously accurate and eminently unbiased. To date, however, neither of these journals has uttered one editorial word on the affair. In addition, the *Tribune* has refused to accept most and the *Times* any of the advertisements of Paul Blanshard's articles that *The Nation* had hoped to place in these two pillars of a free press.

Time Fights for Both

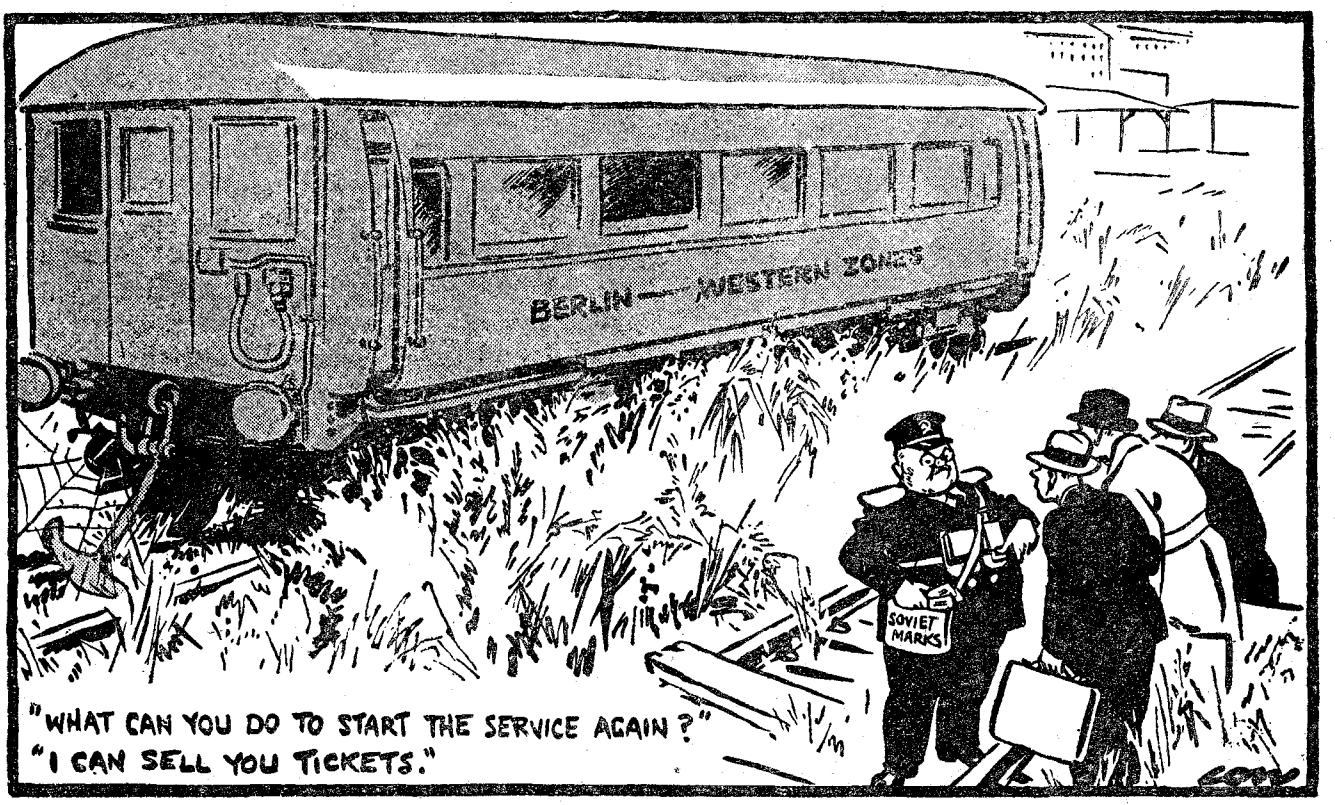
WHY should the Communists have stirred up new and serious trouble in Berlin at the very moment when Russia was apparently on the verge of reaching an agreement with the Western powers on the currency and on lifting the blockade? Surely, it was not mere inadvertence or lack of good organization, for that is not the way in which the party machine works. It is, to be sure, possible that we shall be able to solve this puzzle when the course of events has further unfolded. But until then —and while the diplomats may be engaged in a fencing match requiring quick shifts of tactics—it is important to keep in mind our adversary's long-range objectives.

Two basic assumptions govern Communist policy in the long run; they are part of the Stalinist-Marxist doctrine and are held to be so far beyond question that any prominent Communist who casts doubt on them endangers himself. Stated in a crude and oversimplified form, the first is that time is fighting on the side of the Communist revolution, since Russia, its home, is certain to grow stronger, while the capitalist world is in a stage of decline and dissolution. The second is that since the capitalist world will not go down without a fight, Russia must expect sooner or later to be attacked by one or more of the capitalist nations.

While these principles are at the root of Communist policy, they are not interpreted so rigidly as to prevent startling changes in the tactics of the party; indeed, the world has more than once been surprised by what looked like a complete reversal of the "party line." Belief in economic determinism is not allowed to induce a passive attitude; quite the reverse. There are times when the situation is thought ripe for aggressive action, other times when a pause is in order—for reforming scattered forces or building up strength during a truce. Mistakes, too, may be made by the leaders of the "proletarian forces," and it is important to recognize and correct them as soon as possible.

A credible interpretation of events in Europe since the war is that this is regarded by the Communist leaders as one of the times when an advance is in order, because of the disorganization of the post-war capitalist economy, the presence of large bodies of Russian troops on European soil, and the desire for peace of the Western powers. Any new territory won in Western Europe will, as Fritz Sternberg has pointed out in these pages, greatly strengthen the industrial potential of the Communist world for the "inevitable" future war.

This policy would be quite compatible with a firm intention to avoid war in the near future. Russian leaders might, of course, believe that their chance of winning is greater now than it would be later on, but such a belief is hardly harmonious with the destruction in Russia itself and the need for a breathing spell, coupled with the con-



London *Express*—Canada Wide

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viction that a future depression will weaken the center of capitalist power.

The Western world is similarly acting on the assumption that time is on its side. This is the basis of the European Recovery Program, the revival of German non-military production—and, even in narrowly military terms, the armament of the United States. The policy is to hold present Russian penetration in check, but to avoid war, so far as we are able to do so without indefinite retreat, in the hope that the Communist doctrines may be disproved by experience and the Communist grip on Eastern Europe relaxed out of weakness.

The firm belief of both contestants that time is on their side constitutes the main hope of peace. There is no immediate possibility of compromising their basic differences or of ending the rivalry between them. It is probable that the Russians, in their present aggressive phase, will push their power just as far as it can be made to stick, without precipitating an armed conflict. Perhaps this is what they are trying to do in Berlin, rather than merely putting pressure on us for more favorable terms in the negotiations. Yet it looks as if they had nearly reached the frontier of their present ambition. Certainly they cannot go much farther unless the West beats an ignominious retreat, as it is scarcely likely to do. If the boundaries of influence are accepted and defined as nearly as possible, we can turn to the test which both sides expect time to supply. If an appeal to time from the arbitrament of force does succeed in avoiding war, time will be fighting for both sides.

Franco and Don Juan

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris September 5 (Delayed)

THE meeting of Franco and Don Juan was a more important event than press reports would lead one to believe, though its immediate results may not be particularly striking. The Pretender will probably be permitted to return to Spain when he pleases, and his son can now be educated for future kingship at Seville under the guidance of the boy's grandparents—who, incidentally, have got on well with Franco right along. In making such a concession Franco risks nothing, since under the recently adopted law of succession many years must elapse before royal hopes can be translated into reality, even if no other obstacles intervene. Franco has gained a point by putting Don Juan to one side and delaying the whole issue of succession.

But if the practical consequences of the huddle are not too important, it did have real value for Franco as an opportunity to stage a maneuver which might impress the United Nations Assembly. As *The Nation* has already pointed out, the British and American governments are not anxious to have Spain discussed in the explosive atmosphere of the coming Paris meeting; nor is Franco. It is safe to assume that in talking with Don Juan and showing himself magnanimous, Franco had reason to believe he was meeting the desires of London and Washington.

After many months of being absorbed with other issues and apparently leaving Franco to his own destiny, the Foreign Office and State Department became very active in this matter during August. Reliable reports from Spain indicate that Paul C. Culbertson, the American first secretary in Madrid, was most interested in the meeting of the two Spanish personages, and may even have had a hand in bringing it about.* Thus the old scheme of solving the "Spanish problem" through restoring the monarchy has been revived, but with a different and important nuance: this time it is Franco—not Bevin or the State Department—who directs the operation.

Franco's propaganda machine has taken care to present the meeting on the high seas as a victory for the Caudillo, with the Spanish monarchists submitting to his terms. On the other hand, the apparent victory also reveals Franco's increasing weakness. The terrific difficulties of Spain's economic situation—apart from consideration of the coming U. N. Assembly—have moved the dictator to try to give the impression that a fundamental change of regime is under way.

The victim of the whole affair has been Indalecio Prieto. It has been his policy during the past two years to concentrate on winning over the monarchy and on building Hermandad Española (Spanish Brotherhood), through which right-wing Socialists and monarchists and some other groups would create a provisional government and proceed with the much-advertised plebiscite. He has been outmaneuvered and betrayed by Don Juan. Even without knowing the details of the conversation between Franco and the Pretender, it is easy to guess how the thing developed. Don Juan held as a trump card the threat of an agreement with Prieto and so could say to Franco: "If we do not come to an agreement, I have this alternative." Franco was able to convince Don Juan that Don Juan had more to gain by dealing with him than with Prieto.

The logical consequence of these goings-on will be that the Republican forces inside and outside Spain, including those that have been waiting to see what would come of Prieto's plans, will now renew the effort to get together, fight all maneuvers, and concentrate on the liberation of Spain. Already preparations are being made for a conference to work out a common program of action.

* An informed source in the State Department assures us there has been no change in our relations with Spain and that Mr. Culbertson has not seen Franco in a year.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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Price Support—Farmers' Bonanza

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, September 10

THE farm price-support program has a complex background, and its effect on retail food prices is open to controversial interpretations. For this reason it has become and will continue to be the source of much superficial and misleading campaign oratory—the recent irreconcilable charges and denials by Harold Stassen and Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan are examples.

In the past three Presidential elections the farm vote has shown a continuous trend back to its traditional alliance with the Republican Party. One possible meaning of Mr. Stassen's sortie against high farm prices, therefore, might be that a decision has been taken by Candidate Dewey and his strategists to count the farm vote in the bag and to risk an obscure agitation of the farm-price issue in an appeal for labor and big-city support. A forthright attack upon price support could adversely affect the farm-vote trend, and perhaps for this reason Mr. Stassen's opening remarks were generalized and ambiguous.The Democratic strategists apparently welcomed the opportunity his statements offered for counter-attack. Secretary Brannan hastily interpreted them as evidence that the Republican candidate "intends to destroy the farmers' price supports by falsely attributing to that legislation the exorbitantly high prices of certain foods."

In replying to this reply Stassen once more avoided specific criticism of the price program and attempted instead to revive an aroma of last year's grain-speculation scandals, which involved President Truman's adviser, Edwin W. Pauley. He charged that the Administration's purchases of food for export had been far in excess of requirements for the program. Giving the examples demanded by Brannan, he said that in July, 1947, the government had bought 25,000,000 pounds of lard, and that on another occasion it "bought as much wheat and flour in one month as it had in five months."

Nothing in this opening flare-up came close to a realistic analysis of the critical problem of food costs. And so far as the consuming public is concerned, the fact remains that the law of supply and demand—theoretical arbiter of prices—has been abolished until 1950 for 150 farm products. This year's bumper crops of wheat, corn, and cotton will have little effect on the cost of a loaf of bread or a cotton shirt at the retail counter. A majority of all the supported crops and products are still selling in the open market at prices well above support levels, but the three big staples have come down to the level. And there they are firmly nailed by a war-time price law whose extension was forced through the closing session of Congress on June 20 by cotton Democrats and wheat Republicans aided by the Republicans' frenzy to adjourn in time for their Philadelphia convention.

More than in any other commodity, the price level has assumed an artificial and manipulated aspect in the cotton crop, but this may be only a forerunner of a development affecting the whole list of supported products. On September 8 the Government Crop Reporting Board predicted that the current cotton crop would total 15,219,000 bales, the largest in eleven years, the seventh largest in history, and three and a half million bales above estimated domestic and export requirements. In the years before price support this report would have tumbled prices on exchanges throughout the country, and the loss would have been taken by the farmers. Mills would have bought at cheaper prices, and—theoretically—the consumer ultimately would have bought a cheaper shirt. But market prices were already down virtually to the support level in anticipation of the department's report, and after it was issued prices closed at about the support level of 30.76 cents a pound for December futures. It is estimated that the government will be the receiver of from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 bales, necessitating an outlay of from $450,000,000 to $600,000,000 by the Treasury. To prevent disaster to the farmers the principle of support for cotton prices has long been accepted; but this year the critical question is, should cotton and other prices be supported at war-time levels despite these bumper crops?

In potato production the program has worked erratically. Early in the war increased demands caused a virtual potato famine in retail stores. To encourage production the government in 1943 brought potatoes under price support, guaranteeing $1.09 a bushel for all that could not be disposed of in the normal market. The result was a huge potato crop. And since the subsidy figure was raised each year, to its present level of $1.50, an annual surplus continued which will have cost the government $70,000,000 by the end of this crop year. The program has resulted in freakish developments, such as the widespread practice of leaving the surplus potatoes in the ground, or grinding them into flour and shipping them to Germany—at a cost greater than that of wheat with an equal caloric value.

Wheat is involved with corn, and corn with livestock, but despite tremendous grain crops meat and bread will probably not be any cheaper this year. Wheat has come

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down to the support level of $2.24 a bushel—lower in those cases where farmers cannot get the high-standard warehouse space they need to qualify for the government price loan. But the prices paid for flour by baking companies have not come down and in some instances are rising. The millers justify these rises on the ground that they have suffered a loss of income from the important farm-feed by-products of the milling process, which farmers are now passing by because feed corn is also cheaper. Despite easing corn prices, meat production per capita for the rest of 1948, according to an Agriculture Department Report of September 4, will be 10 per cent less than it was in the final four months of last year. The main reason for this has been the excessive slaughter of cattle and hogs by stockmen to exploit the inflated price levels. This in turn has given stock raisers an even greater price advantage in their self-perpetuating scarcity market.

In general terms, the trouble with the price-support program is that it is a technique originally intended to keep prices up in a period of farm distress, and it has now been carried over into a period in which the problem is to get them down. During the war this technique passed through a transitional and complicating phase when the problem was to get high-level production regardless of prices. The immediate controversial aspect of the program—which both Republican and Democratic speakers have as yet refused to face openly, since the two parties share responsibility—is the recent extension of war-time price levels to 1950, though the 1943 legislation which created the bonus-for-production phase of price support was intended to end within two years after the war. An interesting fact here is that Congress avoided a roll-call vote on final passage of this extension. But the record shows that its champions included Republicans like Representatives Murray of Wisconsin and Gillie of Indiana and Democrats like Senator Russell of Georgia and Representative Cooley of North Carolina. The bill was passed by a Republican Congress and signed by a Democratic President.

The basis of the price-support program is the parity formula, by which the farm-price level is automatically adjusted upward when industrial prices rise. The present price program guarantees a government loan or outright purchase at about 90 per cent of parity. It maintains this level through the crop year of 1949, thereafter providing the Secretary of Agriculture with authority to set support levels at from 60 to 90 per cent, depending on the abundance or scarcity of the various crops.

The rigidity of the parity formula—created to rescue farmers from a distressed condition—has now actually given them an unforeseen advantage in the general economy. This has come about chiefly through improved farming methods, mechanization, better strains of seed, which have tremendously increased acreage yields without proportionately raising production costs. Since parity is still based on cost and yield figures from before the First World War, the formula has given farmers a buying power far in excess of what it was in 1909-14.

The national index figures reveal that there are very few "forgotten men" among the nation's farm owners today—though wage hands and share-croppers in many areas have benefited relatively little. In 1935-39 farmers received 40 cents of each dollar paid at the retail counter for food. Today that figure has climbed to 51 cents. The mid-August level of farm prices was 293 per cent of the 1909-14 average, while the prices paid by farmers for household items and equipment was only 251 per cent of the average in that period. As in all national trends, the big operators have been in position to clean up the biggest profits. The rise of a new class of wheat, cattle, and cotton millionaires has been one of the sensational economic developments of this period. The average small farmer has benefited but not grown rich.

A price break such as that which hit farmers hardest of all groups in 1920 will hit everyone but farmers if it comes during the life of the price-support program. The South's biggest cotton producers, who fight federal appropriations for education as an invasion of states' rights, have been unequaled in their skilful exploitation of federal paternalism—their level of 92½ per cent of parity is the highest level on the list. The conservative and traditionally Republican farm groups of the North and West, who have excoriated the New Deal for its bureaucratic inefficiency and pampering, have seen to it that they have got their share or more.

Though the statistical background of the farm program is complex, there is a growing awareness on the part of the consuming public that it is paying twice for the farmer's bonanza, once as a taxpayer underwriting subsidies, and again as a consumer paying continuing high prices in the stores. Significantly, the Farm Bureau and several leading farm organizations which in the past have taken reactionary stands on farm programs did not support the provision of the recent law extending war-time price levels. An awareness that a public reaction is building up against inflated farm prices is expressed by a veteran analyst, O. M. Kile, in his recently published book, "The Farm Bureau Through Three Decades":

> Obviously the farmer cannot expect to continue to get needed legislation and administrative consideration unless he has the good-will and support of other important segments of the public. Just as the general public, which has long been sympathetic with labor and supported most of its demands for improved conditions, finally revolted at organized labor's excesses and enacted restraining legislation, so might the public be expected to react against agriculture if it should become convinced that the farmer was asking too much.

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. . . Without Sidney Hillman

BY MILTON EDELMAN

WHATEVER new campaign slogans are dreamed up between now and Election Day, it seems a cinch that there will be nothing remotely resembling the Republicans' famous war whoop of 1944—"Clear It with Sidney." For no figure has arisen to take the place of Sidney Hillman, dead these two years, as "America's labor statesman." He has yet to be replaced in C. I. O. councils, in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and in the numerous labor and political causes with which he was so actively associated.

So it was that even when the C. I. O. labor chiefs recently did the expected thing—slapped down the Wallace left wing by a thirty-five-to-twelve vote, enthusiastically embraced the Democratic platform, cast an anemic smile of approval on the Truman candidacy, and laid plans for concentrating on Congressional battles—something was lacking. That something was the Hillman talent for mobilizing right- and left-wing groups of American labor into a unified political fighting arm of extraordinary vitality and effectiveness. So outstanding was Hillman's role in the 1944 campaign that the Republicans never made it quite clear to themselves whether he or Roosevelt was their Democratic opponent.

Without Hillman today the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee lacks dynamic motivation. Its committee-form of leadership and the executive direction of the well-meaning but colorless Jack Kroll, himself an Amalgamated vice-president, have deprived it of a militant generalship and softened its fighting qualities. Fine sentiments and the willingness of amateurs do not compensate for this loss.

Given the present political circumstances, with a Truman rather than a Roosevelt as the Presidential candidate, a Hillman might not have changed the course of events drastically. But even Len DeCaux, former editor of the C. I. O. *News*, now publicity director of the Labor for Wallace Committee, and certainly no great Hillman disciple, said recently that "Hillman would probably have made the break [with the left wing] less rapidly and less sharply." Such a difference even in degree might well have produced different results.

In founding and directing New York's American Labor Party, which held the balance of power in the state for more than six years, Hillman brought into play that same ability to galvanize divergent factions into a cohesive, crusading whole. Hillman was able to harness the left-wingers in the A. L. P.; his successors in the Amalgamated couldn't even ride with them. After the A. L. P.'s indorsement of Wallace, which the Amalgamated did nothing to prevent, the union quietly pulled out of the party in January, 1948. It made no effort before the split to reach a compromise with the left-wing A. L. P. leaders and showed no desire to join the anti-Communist Liberal Party after the split. Under Hillman, the Amalgamated initiated policy within C. I. O.-P. A. C.; under the presidency of Jacob Potofsky, the Amalgamated, as Potofsky himself phrases it, "coordinates" its policy with that of P. A. C.

THE non-political changes within the Amalgamated Clothing Workers since Hillman's death are more difficult to determine, for the Hillman tradition still dominates union policy. What was that tradition? Basically it was a strong belief that workers do not live by piece rates and hourly wages alone: that they have an enormous stake in the political and economic future of their country, that they are entitled to economic security, political freedom, adequate housing, and decent government, and have a right to work for them. In the practical application of that belief the Amalgamated compiled a record of peaceful and progressive union practices which over the decades has served as a model for the American labor movement. Union-management cooperation, generous financial aid to worthy domestic and foreign causes, security and good housing for workers, impartial arbitration—these were all Hillman concepts, and in their vitalization the Amalgamated pioneered among American trade unions.

Officials of the union today in stressing their adherence to the Hillman tradition point out that just before the Taft-Hartley law's restrictions went into effect, the Amalgamated—in many cases, through ordinary telephone conversations—extended its union-shop contracts with employer bargaining units for five years. Their union, they say, paced all others in winning a third round of wage boosts last December. It inaugurated a new retirement program in January, 1947, and liberalized its provisions in 1948. Two new union cooperative housing projects, containing 1,550 units and costing more than $18,000,000, have been begun since last November. Donations to worthy domestic and foreign causes since June, 1946, have reached a record high of $3,500,000. In addition, two large hospital endowments, two factories in Palestine, and one in Italy were financed

MILTON EDELMAN, a labor writer, was formerly an editor of the Watchman, *a Long Island weekly.*

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this year with Amalgamated funds. These achievements, however, were simply extensions of the methods used decades ago by the clothing union to advance the economic security of its members and the workers' struggle for peace, democracy, and well-being all over the world.

Sidney Hillman

Industry-wide wage increases, for example, go back to 1937; a retirement program had been planned in 1934; Amalgamated co-op housing, admittedly one of the finest accomplishments of its kind in the world, was launched in 1927; contributions to foreign charities have been made for thirty years; the first union-financed clothing factory was started back in 1922; an insurance program for members was instituted in 1924.

It is true that no other union—with the possible exception of the International Ladies' Garment Workers—can match this record. The Amalgamated, administered by close associates of Hillman, finds it easy to continue the tradition. But the creative spark is gone. While the dynamic C. I. O. Automobile Workers' union has tackled the wage problem as directly related to a cost-of-living index, the mellow Amalgamated continues to base its arguments on the less tangible concept of "reasonableness." The U. A. W. has plunged into consumer cooperatives on a large scale; the Amalgamated has virtually ignored their possibilities. The younger and poorer Textile Workers' union has increased its contributions to "Operation Dixie" despite organizing difficulties in the South; the Amalgamated, with a national treasury of $6,000,000, cut its contributions to the undertaking from $200,000 in 1946 to $120,000 in 1947 to $60,000 in 1948. The Amalgamated, under Hillman, was able to cooperate with its sister union in the women's garment field, despite deep temperamental differences between Hillman and Dubinsky. Since 1946 increasingly serious jurisdictional wrangles have embittered relations between the two unions.

JACOB POTOFSKY, a soft-spoken man with a goatee who looks like an advertising artist's conception of a Viennese doctor, makes an able executive. His task in maintaining the momentum of the Hillman tradition is greatly facilitated by the remarkable homogeneity of the union's general executive board. Of the twenty officers, sixteen are Jewish or Italian immigrants—reflecting the early composition of the union and of the clothing industry generally. Most of them voted Socialist before 1932 and are veterans of either the Chicago strike of 1910 or the New York strikes of 1914. Even the "baby" of the board, fifty-one-year-old Reuben Block, participated in the Chicago strike—at the age of twelve.

But no prospective Hillman looms in the entire group, and one wonders what will happen to the union when the present officers die and new men take their places. The problem is complicated by the fact that qualified representatives of the younger union generation have not, in general, been advanced rapidly enough to assure an orderly transference of union responsibility. As a result, the Amalgamated suffers from what one worried staff official has called the "father-son" type of administration—more bluntly, a "benevolent despotism." With new cotton and laundry shops being organized in the South and West, with many young veterans entering the clothing trade in Rochester, Philadelphia, and other Eastern cities, the old leaders no longer reflect the make-up or background of the membership.

Few of the new unionists bother to take part in national referendums or elections. Only 58,341 of the 375,000 members voted this June on the question of raising the national per capita dues. In August barely 100,000 voted to elect four candidates to the general executive board. Some Amalgamated locals, notably the temperamental Cutters' Local 4, have held spirited elections, but generally the apathy of the rank and file in union matters has deepened. Loyalty to the leadership is unquestioned; it is manifested, however, rather in the acceptance than in the revitalizing of the Hillman tradition of belief in "things of the spirit."

THE implications of this problem do not seem to have penetrated the minds of the policy-making executives. With thirty years in the union behind them, they tend to look with a jaundiced eye on the new members who have not been part of the tradition. They talk over with themselves rather than with the membership at large the question of their successors. Many of them feel a parental indignation when their "papa knows best" attitude is resented by the youngsters.

One step, however, has been taken to improve the situation. When the union's education department was reorganized in 1946—at the instigation, incidentally, of Hillman himself—Bob Levin, a bright young ex-newspaperman fresh from educational work in the younger, more exuberant C. I. O. unions, was made its director. Before that, the department had emphasized cultural and athletic activities for the members. Now it is concentrating on trade-union education and leadership development. And some of its work seems to be bearing fruit. For the past few months the more progressive Philadelphia and Rochester locals have been conducting compulsory classes three times weekly for new members.

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Workers are taught how grievances are adjusted, where their dues payments go, how the union is administered, and what the Amalgamated hopes to achieve in the future. Twelve educational directors are working in different locals and joint boards all over the country. Since, however, there are 540 locals and 32 joint boards scattered over 38 states and 4 Canadian provinces, the bulk of the membership remains largely unaffected by these new educational activities.

"The $64 question in our minds," one Amalgamated official said recently, "is: Which is moving faster, the problem or the solution?" The mellowness of the Amalgamated, the benevolent despotism of its administration can lead to stultification. In C. I. O.-P. A. C. organizational weakness is at the root of the problem. For both, the death of Sidney Hillman meant a loss of crusading vitality. In his own union Hillman recognized the danger ten years ago and said at a convention: "Let us not become too practical. Having realized our dreams of yesterday, let us dedicate ourselves to new dreams of a future where men and women will be economically secure and politically free."

In C. I. O.-P. A. C. and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Sidney Hillman created organizations which embodied his steadfast belief in the dignity and aspirations of working people. Can these organizations, retaining and energizing this motivation, survive their creator? Perhaps we must wait another decade for the answer. Perhaps it is foreshadowed in the present trend. What is certain is that neither union nor political organization can any longer say, "Clear It with Sidney." Both are now strictly on their own.

Protestantism in a Disordered World

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE readers of this journal would not be particularly interested in a discussion of the religious significance of the first assembly of the World Council of Churches, recently held in Amsterdam. I will therefore confine my report to an analysis of the assembly's social and political attitudes and merely record my conviction that it is too early to estimate its importance in religious history. Subsequent developments will have to prove whether or not it really marked a turning-point in the life of non-Roman Christianity, the point where the free churches consciously turned their back upon the divisiveness and anarchy of freedom and sought a wider unity and greater order within the framework of a non-authoritarian Christianity. Meanwhile it must be observed that democratic religion is always in greater peril of anarchy and disorder than democratic politics. The road toward religious order and unity is therefore a hard one.

Socially and politically the assembly was significant because it recorded convictions which confute those critics of the churches who identify religion with reaction. It is true that the assembly as a whole did not have to subscribe to the diagnoses of the various commissions which examined the "disorder of the world" and the relation of the churches to that disorder. It merely "received" and "commended" the reports. It could however, have rejected any of them, and it frequently exercised the right of amendment. The reports, as accepted, therefore represented roughly the common mind of the most representative group of churchmen ever gathered together from all parts of the world.

The statement which aroused the greatest degree of interest was the equal condemnation of both capitalism and communism. "The church," declared the committee, "should reject the ideologies which underly both laissez faire capitalism and communism. . . . Each has made promises which it could not redeem. Communism . . . promises that freedom will follow automatically upon the completion of the revolution. Capitalism . . . promises that justice will follow as a by-product of free enterprise. That too is an ideology which has been proved false."

Positively, the report called upon Christian churches to help explore the middle ground and "to seek for creative solutions which do not allow either justice or freedom to destroy the other." This middle ground will be generally recognized as the realm of democratic socialism. But it would be wrong to make the identification too complete, for many Christian conservatives or at least Christian non-Socialists at the assembly accepted the report because they rightly felt that the church did not and could not commit its members to the doctrine of a particular party, and that in any event there were many "creative" approaches to politics which were not strictly Socialist, though they would hardly be creative if they did not, in the words of the report, "subordinate economic activities to social ends."

DR. NIEBUHR, a staff contributor to The Nation, *is professor of Applied Christianity at the Union Theological Seminary. He was one of three Americans on the committee which drafted the resolution on communism and capitalism presented to the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam last month.*

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On the question of the socialization of property the report declared: "The church cannot resolve the debate between those who believe that the primary solution is to socialize the means of production and those who fear that such a course will merely lead to new and inordinate combinations of economic and political power, culminating finally in the omnicompetent state." But it can remind the advocates of socialization that the institution of property "is not the root of the corruption of human nature" and that its abolition cannot therefore achieve the utopian ends usually expected. And it can remind "the defenders of existing property relations that ownership is not an unconditioned right, and it must therefore be preserved, curtailed, and distributed in accordance with the requirements of justice." The requirements of justice are that we, on the one hand, "vindicate the supremacy of persons over purely technical considerations and subordinate all economic process and cherished rights to the community as a whole," and that "on the other hand we seek to preserve the possibility of a satisfying life for 'little men in a big society.' "

The secular reader probably will note that the whole approach to political justice is informed by the Christian conviction that human nature is "corrupted," and that there is therefore no guaranty that the elimination of specific social evils through new social institutions may not create fresh evils. "Men are often disillusioned," the report declares, "by finding that changes of particular systems do not bring unqualified good but fresh evils. New temptations to greed and power arise even in systems more just than those which they have replaced, because sin is ever present in the human heart." This Christian conviction will probably not be as quickly rejected as it once was, since our generation has had opportunity to see the utopian illusions of both liberals and Marxists refuted by actual history. But at any rate there it is, as an inevitable part of a characteristically Christian analysis of social evils. The present writer regards it as a source of wisdom.

Communism was condemned because of (1) its "promise of what amounts to the complete redemption of man in history"; (2) "its belief that a particular class is free . . . from the sins and ambiguities which Christians believe to be characteristic of all human existence"; (3) "its materialistic and deterministic teachings . . . [which] are incompatible with the Christian belief in man as a person, made in the image of God and responsible to him"; and (4) the policies of a Communist dictatorship in "controlling every aspect of life."

But Christians were asked to "recognize with contrition that many churches are involved in forms of economic injustice and racial discrimination which have created conditions favorable to the growth of communism, and that the atheism and anti-religious teaching of communism are in part a reaction to the checkered record of a professedly Christian society." However the secular reader may view the relationship of Christianity to modern society, he must admit that this kind of analysis is free of the notes of self-righteous judgment upon "atheism" which have characterized the pronouncements of many churches, and particularly those of the Roman church.

THE question is, where did these strong convictions come from? There will be conservative churchmen in America who will ascribe them to a cabal of "leftists" in the inner circle of the assembly. As one who might possibly be included in such a category I should like to testify that most of the judgments in the reports were made much more rigorous than they were originally by the pressure of European and Asiatic delegates. I would not myself, for instance, attempt an equilateral condemnation of capitalism and communism, partly because I believe that the latter has a demonic fury which capitalism as a creed lacks and partly because I believe that the "ideology" of capitalism in its original form no longer exists except in the minds of a few—or perhaps many—American Republicans. It is not a live creed in the rest of the world. The resolution's equal condemnation sprang from the feeling of a radical Continent and an even more radical Asia.

Protestant Christianity in continental Europe was once quietistic and either indifferent to politics or frankly a supporter of the old order. The Amsterdam conference proved how seriously the events of the past decades and the experience of the churches in resisting Nazism have altered the social outlook of the churches and increased their sense of social responsibility. As one delegate, the Christian mayor of a German city and a Socialist, put it, "Recent history has reduced all bourgeois existence in Europe to the insecurity which once characterized proletarian life alone. Whatever spiritual insights are derived from that social insecurity are therefore no longer exclusively proletarian. If Christianity insists that the social environment does not finally determine the meaning of our existence, it can make that point only if it recognizes the immediate and pressing importance of all questions relating to the organization of a tolerable justice."

The radicalism of Europe at the conference was strongly anti-Communist. The lone voice in favor of Russia was that of the Prague theological professor, Hromadka. It might be mentioned in passing that the most powerful theological influence on the Continent, that of Karl Barth, is obliquely pro-Communist but not actively so. The radicalism of Africa and Asia on the other hand is friendly to communism. The poverty of the Orient, the resentment of the colored peoples of the world at the white man's arrogance, the aspirations of colonial peoples, rightly or wrongly imagining that

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Russia is their champion against the "imperialistic" powers—all these factors contribute to the formation of something new in the history of Christianity. This something new is not exactly Christian communism but a form of Christianity tremendously sympathetic to communism. I should add, from the standpoint of Western prejudices, that it is also tremendously naive about the actual workings of the Communist political machine and rather ignorant about recent political history in Europe. The general hatred of Britain as an imperial power and the envy and moral loathing aroused in the East by America's technical power and economic wealth contribute to this whole orientation. After attending three ecumenical Christian conferences in the past year I have come to the conclusion that even if there were no other evidence available the attitude of Christians in Africa and Asia would prove that the greatest triumphs of communism will be achieved in the non-European world.

The Origin of Energy

BY LEONARD ENGEL

AT THIS moment man is at the threshold of a rare and exciting event—what is usually termed a revolution in science but is more accurately described as an advance to a new level of understanding of the physical universe. Since the end of the war the focus of interest in physical science has not been the atomic pile or the atom bomb but a family of unfamiliar sub-atomic particles known as mesotrons or mesons. Mesons are among the debris left when atoms in the earth's atmosphere are struck by cosmic rays, the mysterious super-powerful radiation that rains ceaselessly on the earth from outer space. Mesons are also among the products of the mammoth atom-smashers developed since 1945; indeed, the production of mesons is one of the chief reasons for the investment of millions of dollars—sums previously unheard of for research—in these machines.

The great interest in mesons arises from the fact that they are taking physicists into a new world. The release of atomic energy in the atomic pile and bomb conveys the impression that few secrets remain to the atom. Actually, our knowledge is largely confined to its outer structure. Of its central power-house, the nucleus, we know very little—only that a small part of its store of energy may be got out by fission—that is, by breaking the nucleus in two and rearranging its constituent particles into smaller nuclei. The origin of the energy released by fission is uncertain. Study of mesons, however, is gradually dispelling the mystery. In time it will bring full understanding of events in the nucleus.

What this portends can be guessed from the previous history of physics and chemistry. In the year 1808 the British chemist John Dalton advanced the view that matter is composed of atoms, a different kind for each chemical element. Dalton's atomic theory, the first based on experiment, was unable to *explain* chemical reactions and other chemical phenomena, but it laid the empirical basis for the great nineteenth-century development in chemistry and utilization of chemical energy (oil, coal, and so forth). Then an epochal series of discoveries at the close of the century—X-rays, radioactivity, and the electron—advanced our understanding of matter and energy to a new level. The atom's planetary structure was uncovered, chemical phenomena and chemical energy were explained, and a new source of energy, the nucleus, was found. So exploration of the atomic nucleus will not only advance our understanding of matter and energy to a third level but promises to disclose still another, greater source of energy.

It will be convenient to begin discussion of mesons with a brief consideration of where atomic science now stands. It has been established that the atom is a sort of tiny solar system, about two and a half million times smaller than the smallest object visible to the naked eye, built out of three kinds of smaller elementary particles, one light and two heavy. The light particles, electrons, have a negative electric charge and occupy the position of planets. The heavy particles—protons, which have a positive electric charge, and neutrons, which are electrically neutral—are grouped in a compact central nucleus. The diameter of the nucleus, which makes practically all the atom's weight, is only a hundred-thousandth the diameter of the atom.

The identification of the atom's elementary components was completed with the discovery of the neutron by Sir James Chadwick seventeen years ago. Even before that, though, it had ceased to be the key question in atomic research. For several decades, ever since the atom was shown to have a complicated structure, the key question had been, what holds the atom together? What forces are at play in its interior? Practical as well as scientific considerations have made this question of first

LEONARD ENGEL is a writer on science who from time to time informs Nation *readers about current scientific developments, especially in the field of atomic energy.*

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importance, for these forces are the source of what we know as energy, whether the energy of burning fuel or atomic energy.

The forces that keep the satellite electrons in their orbits are comparatively well understood. They are basically electrical in nature. Since electrons are negative in charge and protons positive, electrons are bound to the nucleus by the attraction between opposite charges of electricity. The precise size of the attractive force is the result of a number of influences, chief among them the number and arrangement of electrons and protons within each atom and its neighbors. For example, smaller forces and less energy are involved in maintaining the planetary structure of carbon and oxygen atoms combined in the carbon-dioxide molecule than when separate. The combination of carbon and oxygen, as in the burning of coal, consequently releases energy.

WITH regard to the forces inside the nucleus the situation is much more complex. It might at first appear that two familiar forces are at work in the nucleus—an electric force of repulsion among the nuclear protons, which all have the same kind of electric charge and so tend to repel each other, and an attractive force of gravitation which operates between protons and neutrons just as between a falling apple and the earth. But this view will not do. For the repulsive electric forces within the nucleus far outweigh the gravitational forces; were these the principal forces involved, all atomic nuclei except those of hydrogen (which have only one nuclear proton each) would long since have burst apart and ceased to exist. The fact is that protons and neutrons are bound together in the nucleus by very strong forces; to tear even a single proton or neutron out of most nuclei requires atomic projectiles charged to energies of millions of electron volts. A special nuclear binding force must therefore be assumed, in addition to conventional gravitational and electrical forces.

The special nuclear force does indeed exist. Its reality was conclusively proved a number of years ago by an ingenious experiment, performed in several laboratories, in which a carefully controlled beam of protons was hurled at a target of hydrogen nuclei, which are also protons. As long as the energy of the bombarding protons remained below the level necessary to bring them within a certain distance of the target protons, bombarding and bombarded particles were kept apart by repulsive electric forces. At the critical distance, however, the repulsive force was suddenly overcome by an attractive force of unimaginable magnitude. The critical distance was a twelve-billionth of an inch—a little more than the diameter of a single proton—and the force that took command within that range was ten-followed-by-thirty-five-zeroes times greater than gravitation.

Though the range and size of the nuclear force are known with fair exactness, its essential nature remains a puzzle—the most crucial and tantalizing in the whole realm of science. It should be solved by meson research, however, for mesons appear to be products of the nuclear force, materializations, if you will, of the energy of the nuclear-force field. At any rate, mesons appear whenever atomic nuclei are bombarded with sufficient force not merely to shatter the nucleus as a whole but to break up some of its constituent protons and neutrons as well.

In 1936 two teams of researchers, Anderson and Neddermeyer at the University of California and Street and Stevenson at Harvard, observed a series of peculiar traces among cosmic-ray tracks recorded with a simple piece of apparatus known as the Wilson cloud chamber. The odd tracks were made by a particle which was certainly heavier than an electron yet lighter than a proton. At Anderson's suggestion the new particle was named the mesotron (intermediate particle), later shortened to meson. At first the origin of the meson was uncertain. In subsequent research, in which scientists carried recording instruments to almost inaccessible mountain peaks and far aloft in planes and balloons, the birthplace of the meson was found—in the upper atmosphere, where primary cosmic rays (protons with energies of hundreds of millions of electron volts and traveling with nearly the speed of light) collide with atmospheric matter.

THE meson discovered in 1936 turned out to be a double entity. Both forms have a mass of 212—against 1 for the electron and 1,836 for the proton and neutron—but one has the negative charge of an electron and the other the positive charge of a proton. It was originally believed that these were the only two kinds of meson. Six additional varieties, however, have since been found. Further, the mass-212 mesons may not be primary products of cosmic-ray activity. The immediate product of cosmic-ray collisions may be the mesons of mass-313 (both positive and negative in electric charge), which were discovered last year by a group of scientists from the University of Bristol through the study of photographic plates exposed to cosmic rays in the Andes and made synthetically a few months ago in what is at present the world's largest atom-smasher, the University of California's 184-inch cyclotron. In addition, there exist neutral mesons of mass 90, negative, positive, and neutral mesons of mass 800 to 900, and possibly still others. There may be a dozen different species of meson, each with a distinctive part in the variety of reactions that may take place within the atom's nucleus.

Needless to say, the multiplicity of mesons has for the moment brought enormous confusion to atomic physics. Present theory can no more account for them than for the nuclear binding force. But some sense is emerg-

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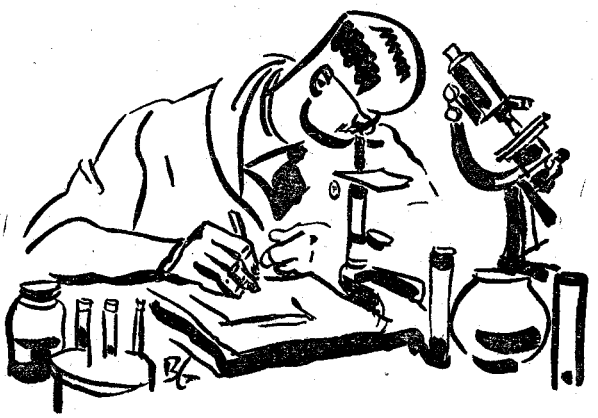
ing from meson research. In the last two years much has been done to connect up the various types of intermediate particles—if not in the beautifully ordered fashion of fully developed physical theory, then in a crude but useful phenomenological way. It has been shown, for instance, that the three lightest mesons form what is known as a decay series. As was remarked above, the mass-313 meson is in most cases the immediate product of nuclear shattering by cosmic-ray energies. If it does not react within a very short period—one- or two-millionth of a second—with a nearby nucleus, the mass-313 meson gives off a mass-90 meson and becomes a mass-212 meson. The latter in turn decays into an electron and another meson, perhaps of mass-90, perhaps of smaller mass.

Moreover, an important first step has been taken toward determining the role of mesons inside the nucleus. Last year, in an experiment with the big California cyclotron, two physicists, Powell and Hartsough, directed a beam of 100,000,000-electron-volt neutrons against a target of protons. Accelerated to such energies, the neutrons approached the protons as closely as neutrons and protons approach each other inside the nucleus. When neutron and proton were thus brought together, a remarkable thing happened. They exchanged identities. The bombarding neutron captured the target proton's electric charge and became a proton; the target proton, now chargeless, emerged from the collision a neutron.

The Powell-Hartsough experiment indicates, and other research confirms, that one of the things happening within the nucleus is a continual exchange of electric changes and identities among the nuclear particles. About half the particles in the nucleus are protons and half neutrons, but the identity of any one is not fixed. Millions of times a second each proton biffs its charge to a neighboring neutron, becoming a neutron itself; for a brief instant the neutron receiving the charge is a proton, then it bats the charge back to its owner and reverts to its original status as a neutron.

NOW, electric charges in motion are an electric current, and electric current generates a field of electromagnetic force, a fact which has everyday application in devices likes the electromagnet. A moving current, however, is not sufficient to generate the nuclear force. Something more than mere electric charges must be involved in the transfer—perhaps electrically charged mesons. Perhaps the web of super-force binding the nucleus is spun by a swarm of mesons generated by the nuclear particles out of their own substance and shuttling back and forth between adjacent particles, making of each, first, a proton, then a neutron.

Of course, this is, for the present, only speculation. It is a reasonable supposition, though, on the basis not only of what is known about the nucleus but of our more



detailed knowledge of events in the outer reaches of the atomic solar system. One of the great discoveries of the past half-century is the fact that radiant energy—gamma and X-rays, ultra-violet light, visible light, infra-red radiation, and radio waves—whose source is the field of force of the planetary electrons, comes in packets called photons; thus a beam of light is a stream of photons. The energy of the nuclear-force field must be similarly "quantized." It is inconceivable that one kind of energy should be quantized and another not; the universe just doesn't work that way. As a matter of fact, some months before the meson turned up on Anderson's and Street's cosmic-ray plates, the existence of a nuclear-field energy quantum which would appear as a particle with a mass of 300 to 400 was predicted on just such grounds by the distinguished Japanese physicist Hideki Yukawa. The mass-313 meson nicely fills Yukawa's prescription.

It will no doubt seem strange to many readers, as it did for years to a great many physicists, that a packet of energy, the meson, should appear as a weighable particle; we don't ordinarily think of energy as having weight. However, the equivalence of matter and energy, as expressed by the famous Einstein equation $E = mc^2$ (energy equals mass times the square of the velocity of light), implies that energy quanta may exhibit phenomena of mass. Photons also have mass; it is not easily observed only because their mass is exceedingly small. The large mass of the meson may merely reflect the fact that it is the quantum of a truly extraordinary force.

This brings us once more to the significance of meson research. In the process of fission, energy is released by the rearrangement of unstable, high-energy nuclei into more stable nuclei of smaller internal energy. There is no drastic alteration of individual nuclear particles or release of mesonic quanta of the nuclear force. Thus fission makes available mere surplus "energy of arrangement." Another kind of process is conceivable as the outcome, a minimum of several decades hence, of meson research. In this, individual nuclear particles rather than nuclei would be shattered, and the energy of their attendant mesons tapped as a source of power thousands of times greater than fission.

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Ada Sipuel's Second Try

BY HARRIET BUNN

Norman, Oklahoma

WHEN the second phase of the Sipuel case ended in May, Judge Hinshaw of the U. S. District Court in Oklahoma said he would hand down his decision in two weeks. Actually he spent over two months deliberating, knowing that whatever he said the major issue behind the trial would not be settled. It will take a state law to do that.

To make the situation clear a brief review of the facts is required. Ada Lois Sipuel first petitioned the state to admit her to the University of Oklahoma Law School in 1946. According to the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, state universities must provide equal opportunities for white and Negro students. Twenty-four-year-old Ada Lois is not white. She looks as if there might be an Indian strain in her Negro blood. In territorial days, before the Indians were declared "white," they intermarried a great deal with colored people. In answer to a question the petitioner said she didn't know about her Indian blood but she was part Irish. Her mother, a tall, handsome woman with aquiline features, attended the trial. Neither she nor Ada looked noticeably darker than some of the sunburned ranchers; they were less dark than the Indians.

When Ada Sipuel's original petition was denied, the N. A. A. C. P. carried her case to the Supreme Court. On January 12, 1948, the court decided that Oklahoma must not only provide its Negro citizens with educational opportunities equal to those of whites but must provide them at once.

Instantly the Oklahoma regents went into action. One week later, when the second semester began at Oklahoma University, the Langston School of Law opened its doors to Negroes. The school was housed in the state capitol. The chairman of the Board of Regents declared on the witness stand that the board had made a "bona fide, vigorous effort to set up in good faith a school of law that would be equal to that at the state university." The catalogue certainly looked fine. In fact, it was copied practically word for word from the catalogue of the university law school. A small faculty was hired at the going rate. Furniture appropriate to the seminar type of teaching was installed and also a portable blackboard.

The fact that the blackboard was portable particularly bothered Ada Sipuel's lawyers. They seemed to fear it could be carried out as easily as it was carried in. Other alleged shortcomings troubled the N. A. A. C. P. lawyers. The three Oklahomans who agreed to serve on the faculty are members of prosperous law firms in Oklahoma City. Wouldn't their private work continue to be their major interest? And what about the basement room, carefully segregated, where the Langston law students would be permitted to eat?

The N. A. A. C. P. hoped to bring in segregation directly, but Judge Hinshaw said he would not accept testimony on this issue. "Segregation is the bedrock of Oklahoma," Mac Q. Williamson, the attorney general, announced at the opening of the trial.

The irony of Ada Sipuel's situation was sharpened by the fact that William Robert Ming, Negro graduate of the University of Chicago Law School and at present a member of its faculty, and Thurgood Marshall, a graduate of the Howard University Law School, presented most of the argument in her behalf. In an effort to make this a test case they offered the testimony of Dr. John Thompson of Howard University, Dean Redfield, anthropologist of Chicago University, and a number of law professors from Northern universities, including Dean Harrison of Pennsylvania and Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School. Before Redfield was disqualified he had a chance to say, "There is no recognizable difference between Negroes and white students as to their inherent intellectual capacity, and there is strong evidence tending to the conclusion that such differences do not exist." When he went on to say that "segregation defeats the purpose of education, preventing the experience with the complete community and inducing distrust," the Attorney General objected, and Redfield had to leave the stand.

By the third day of the trial the cleavage between witnesses for the petitioner and witnesses for the state was plainly geographical. Professors from Columbia, Wisconsin, Chicago, Pennsylvania, California, and Massachusetts—all states in which Negroes attend college alongside whites—testified that the Langston School of Law did not and could not equal that of Oklahoma University. Witnesses for the state pointed out that since the only student in sight for Langston was a first-year student, they had set up courses only for first-year law training. They had no answer to the argument that law today is considered one of the social sciences and cannot be divorced from other university departments such as political science, economics, and psychology. Langston University proper, is, unfortunately, forty miles away. Dean Griswold of Harvard stressed another fact: "Our students eat,

HARRIET BUNN is a free-lance journalist who covered the Sipuel trials for a number of publications.

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drink, and sleep law," he said. "A great deal of instruction in law is given by the students themselves." Langston's deficiency in these respects sticks in many throats.

Moreover, since Negro lawyers nearly always have to argue against white lawyers, before white judges, Negro law students certainly need a chance to sharpen their wits against those of white students. This point brought the segregation issue into the courtroom. One of the Negro lawyers asked a witness for the state if it wouldn't be advisable, in view of the overcrowding at the Oklahoma University Law School caused by the G. I. Bill of Rights, to transfer thirty or more students to the Langston Law School. The state gave an unqualified no to this. Another Negro lawyer said with considerable feeling, "If you remove the race question from this case there would not be a man or woman in the courtroom sending their children to Langston if they could attend the University of Oklahoma." The less prejudiced listeners were impressed not only by such searchlight statements but by the dignity and force of the colored lawyers.

Polls taken at the university favored the petitioner, 45 per cent of the undergraduates voting that she should be admitted to the university and 80 per cent of the law students, with many veterans among them, favoring her admission to the law school.

Many enlightening facts came out in private conversations. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* reporter mentioned that in his city at present it costs about $200 a year to educate a white lawyer and $800 to educate a Negro lawyer. A Negro dentist from an Oklahoma community said that 75 per cent of his patients were white.

In his decision Judge Hinshaw declared the two schools were "substantially equal," but this does not make them so. The N. A. A. C. P. is prepared to carry the case higher, and it will undoubtedly reach the Supreme Court again.

Radio: Some Good Among the Bad

BY ARTHUR D. MORSE

DENOUNCING radio by oversimplification has become an intellectual vogue. Silencing your set because of the stupidity of some, or most, programs is a quick but inadequate solution of a very real problem. This common practice deprives the discriminating listener of quality programs and denies the networks the audiences which justify intelligent programming. Certainly the air waves are cluttered with soap, give-aways, and frenetic quizmasters, but judicious dialing will bring surprising rewards. More than that, selection is the weapon with which listeners can force broadcasters to raise the level of their programs.

Listeners, like liberal voters, rarely express their approval of the occasional good that creeps in among so much that is bad. But a prerequisite of articulate approval is exposure to good radio, and I would suggest for current listening two outstanding programs—"CBS Views the Press" and NBC's weekly documentary, "Living-1948."

"CBS Views the Press" unfortunately is heard only on WCBS, New York (Saturdays, 6:15-6:30, EDT), but it is worthy of national attention. It is a critical analysis of the New York press and was introduced by Edward R. Murrow with the statement, "We firmly believe that freedom of the press and freedom of radio are inseparable and that mutual criticism will benefit both." Murrow, whose news commentaries have earned him a hatful of awards, assigned Don Hollenbeck to edit and broadcast the program. The newspapers of course have long published critical radio comment, but this is the first time that radio has talked back.

The first broadcast, in May, 1947, analyzed press handling of the disclosure that thirty-seven families were being housed in hotel rooms by the New York City Welfare Department. Hollenbeck's scalpel cut through the sensationalism of most of the New York papers and revealed the bare subsistence living standards of the majority of Welfare Department cases. Except for *PM's* Albert Deutsch, he said, the press had shown little interest in the fact that the families taken from hotels had been moved to condemned tenements and municipal lodging-houses.

In this broadcast Hollenbeck set the tone and standard for his critical commentary. His remarks were restrained and mature, his approach to newspaper ethics and integrity was in the best tradition of honest journalism, but he pulled no punches. Hollenbeck's extensive press and radio background well qualifies him for the difficult task of finding the truth behind New York headlines. In addition he has one of the most polished voices in radio and a sharp wit. He writes the scripts, but the program is a cooperative effort of the entire CBS news staff.

Among the items dissected by the program have been

ARTHUR D. MORSE, a contributor to several radio magazines, will comment from time to time in these pages on the broadcasting industry and on programs of interest to readers of The Nation.

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the "punishment by publicity" inflicted upon Dr. Edward U. Condon by press reports of the unsubstantiated Thomas committee charges; the technique of the Hearst boom for MacArthur; the Mississippi secret-police story unearthed by the *New Yorker's* A. J. Liebling and ignored by the press; Dwight Griswold's personal letter to the editor of the *Herald Tribune* complaining of Homer Bigart's critical dispatches from Greece; and examples of Jim Crow journalism in the New York press. One evening Hollenbeck exposed the propaganda in an article in the New York *Times* in which Herbert L. Matthews echoed the British Foreign Office's assertion that many Communists were aboard refugee ships bound for Palestine.

A natural question is why CBS affiliates in other areas do not present a local version of the New York City program. One obvious answer is that radios and newspapers are coming to be owned more and more by the same individuals, who are hardly likely to go in for self-criticism. Murrow hopes that the program will be more widely carried, but there is no immediate prospect of new stations. Expressions of public opinion from major cities might speed the process.

"Living-1948" (Sunday, 4:35-5:00 p.m., EDT), NBC's ambitious weekly drama-document, has two working rules: be adult, and never be dull. The program's aim is "to set Americans thinking more about currently important issues and arouse them to intelligent action." Ken R. Dyke originated the idea of the series. Wade Arnold, "Living's" program supervisor, helped create the earliest experimental documentaries.

This documentary effectively combines music, drama, and narrative. Past titles include "The Mental Health of the Nation," "As Europe Sees Us," "Home, Broken Home," and "Atomic Energy Is Your Business."

The last-named was a dramatic interpretation of a speech by David Lilienthal on the problems of atomic energy made before a small audience in Indiana. It brought the subject home to the listener by dramatizing the uses of atomic energy in agriculture and the fight against disease and its value as a new source of electricity and heat. The broadcast was a forceful plea for the freedom of scientists from the "organized forces of ignorance, demagoguery, petty politics."

"Living-1948" was heard over less than 30 of NBC's more than 160 stations when it began in February of this year. Today it is carried by more than 90 stations, although local affiliates could sell commercial programs to local sponsors at that time. Yet in spite of its sustained high level, the program excites comparatively little reaction. "Sound Minds, Sound Bodies," a popular interpretation of psychosomatic medicine, had the heaviest mail response, a few hundred letters—which of course does not begin to compare with the enthusiasm developed by programs of unadulterated tripe.

One can hardly expect networks to become less commercial when their best non-commercial products are meagerly appreciated. A barrage of intelligent and approving letters stimulates a network's sense of responsibility for raising the level of taste in its own programming. I append below a list of programs which can be sincerely praised. Edward R. Murrow and Don Hollenbeck at CBS and Wade Arnold at NBC will be delighted to receive either praise or criticism, but they often find it difficult to assess silence.

Saturday, September 18

11:00 a.m.	CBS	"Let's Pretend." "The Princess on the Glass Mountain." Best of the children's programs.
3:30 p.m.	CBS	"Cross-Section USA." "What Are the Causes of Industrial Pease?" Labor vs. management, well moderated.
5:45	ABC	Dorothy Fuldheim. News analysis sponsored by Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
6:15	WCBS	"CBS Views the Press." (See above.)
6:30	NBC	NBC Symphony conducted by Max Reiter.

Sunday, September 19

12:00 a.m.	CBS	"Invitation to Learning." Discussion of Kenneth Graham's "The Wind in the Willows," in a series on children's classics.
12:30	NBC	"Eternal Light." Consistently high level of dramatic scripts on Judaic lore.
	CBS	"People's Platform." A forum that has presented such notables as Herbert Hoover, Groucho Marx, and Henry Wallace.
1:00	MBS	William L. Shirer. Weekly guest will be a newsman to highlight regional items.
1:30	CBS	"Tell It Again." Jules Verne's "The Mysterious Island," in an excellent series for children and adults.
2:00	CBS	"You Are There." Re-creation of "The Ratification of the Constitution." Historical detail and healthy excitement make it interesting for youngsters too.
3:00	CBS	CBS Symphony under Alfredo Antonini; pianist Soulima Stravinsky's radio debut.
4:35	NBC	"Living-1948." (See above.)
10:30	CBS	"Escape." Superior thriller.

Monday, September 20

6:15 p.m.	CBS	"In My Opinion." Fifteen controversial minutes, with both sides getting a hearing.
7:15	ABC	Elmer Davis.
7:45	CBS	Edward R. Murrow.
8:00	NBC	First Piano Quartet.
9:00	NBC	Telephone Hour with Ferrucio Tagliavini.
10:00	ABC	Arthur Gaeth, valuable new commentary sponsored by United Electrical Workers.

Tuesday, September 21

7:15	ABC	Elmer Davis.
7:45	CBS	Edward R. Murrow.
8:00	ABC	"Youth Asks the Government." A leading official is interviewed by alert youths.
8:30	ABC	"America's Town Meeting." Oldest of the forums, usually provocative.
9:30	ABC	Chamber Music Hour with the American Art Quartet.

Wednesday, September 22

7:15	ABC	Elmer Davis.
7:45	CBS	Edward R. Murrow.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THERE is disagreement about the merits of the Cultural Congress for Peace at Wroclaw, Poland. Julian Huxley, director of Unesco, was "disappointed and dismayed." He had received assurances that it was to be cultural in scope.

> The Congress from the outset [he said on his return from Wroclaw] took a political turn; there was no real discussion, and the great majority of the speeches were either strictly Marxist analyses of current trends or else polemical attacks on American or Western policy or culture. . . .
>
> I did not sign the final resolution . . . it omits all reference to many important causes of or predispositions to war and places the blame for the present state of tension almost entirely on "a handful of self-interested men in America and Europe." . . . In these and other ways it appears to me to be tendentious and unfortunate. This gathering of scientists, writers, and artists from many countries could have provided an opportunity for reconciling, in the intellectual and cultural sphere, what may broadly be called the Eastern and Western points of view. I can only express my regret that that opportunity was not taken.

On the other hand, O. J. Rogge, chairman of the American delegation, was very pleased with the congress. He stated on his return to New York that it "reflected accurately the opinions of writers, artists, and scientists from all over the world." He said the meeting was controlled by no nation, that discussion was open, and that widely divergent opinions were expressed.

Obviously one's opinion of the congress depends upon one's idea of what a Cultural Congress for Peace should be. Mr. Huxley apparently expected of the intellectuals assembled in Wroclaw serious discussion, marked by the objectivity and detachment that intellectuals are supposed to command, of the many and complicated problems that today beset the world, both East and West. He was disappointed that the sessions were given over to a political quarrel which made such discussion impossible—and it is hard to see what discussion *is* possible when one party to the parley insists from the outset that the other party and all his relatives are imbeciles and degenerates.

Mr. Rogge apparently expected much less than Mr. Huxley. It was enough for him that more than one opinion was expressed.

I suppose that from the very short point of view it *is* gratifying that at a congress in Poland at this particular time Westerners were actually allowed to express opinions divergent from the majority—or that Westerners holding divergent opinions were allowed to come at all. But considering man's long-drawn-out battle to express and exchange opinions freely, Mr. Rogge's satisfaction over the fact that at a meeting, in 1948, of intellectuals from all over the world more than one opinion was tolerated does seem a little excessive.

As for his assertion that the congress "reflected accurately the opinions of writers, artists, and scientists from all over the world," it is so inaccurate that I wonder what peculiar world Mr. Rogge inhabits. I can think of dozens of writers, artists, and scientists here and abroad whose opinions the congress did not represent, including at least one writer and one scientist who were invited to attend it. Albert Einstein's message to the congress was not read (he was "represented" instead by a brief letter he had written in July to the sponsoring committee supporting its efforts to organize the congress). Neither, so far as I can find out, was that of Stephen Spender—it is printed, by the way, in the correspondence columns this week.

The invitation sent out by the organizers of the congress at Wroclaw—the French-Polish Organization Committee—seemed to promise the kind of congress Mr. Huxley expected. I quote the questions which the congress was supposed to discuss:

> 1. Is a new war inevitable? Is it not possible and is it not the duty of all peoples to work together in peace regardless of the economic or social regimes under which they live? Would not mutual respect for each other's independence and national characteristics insure such collaboration?
>
> 2. Is it not possible to work together to assure that increasing numbers of men and women may enjoy the benefits of real freedom and of equal rights regardless of race or creed?
>
> 3. Is it not indispensable, in the interests of progress and the future, to insure the independent growth of culture and of research and the free interchange of inventions, discoveries, and creative work in all its branches?

Albert E. Kahn, another American delegate, said that some inaccurate news accounts of the meeting were published. That is not hard to believe. Still, it is not likely that the texts of actual speeches were made up, and judging by these the very vital questions raised in the invitation of the French-Polish Organization certainly read, after the event, as if they had been designed for some quite other congress.

I WOULD HESITATE, if I had the authority, to turn over the management of the Metropolitan Opera to Billy Rose, but his five columns on how its productions and its financial standing might be improved bristled with criticisms and suggestions that, to this inexpert observer, made a great deal of sense. They were presented in the well-known Billy Rose lingo, and one had the impression of watching a smart kid dancing disrespectful rings around a dowager full of years and inflexibility; but if there is anything shocking about this spectacle it is not Billy Rose's impudence but the fact that the casting of the Metropolitan as a dowager seems so pat. After all, there is no reason why it should be so set in its ways.

Mr. Rose, in his "illiterative" fashion, clipped the cliques, the claques, the corpulence, the controls, the coast-to-coast tours, and even the clocks which in his opinion have kept the Metropolitan from being a tremendous success, financially and otherwise. If he were in control, he would bring up the matter of reasonable diets and a little actor's training for many of the performers; he would streamline the administration and make some very interesting changes on the board of the Opera Association. He thinks the Metropolitan should not be above cashing in on the shortage of theaters in New York—instead of al-

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lowing the opera house to be closed a good part of the year. He would initiate a consecutive-performance policy, that is, a policy of giving the same opera for several nights in a row. This would save a great deal of money if Mr. Rose is right in saying that "striking a production, setting it on the sidewalks of Seventh Avenue . . . carting it to the warehouse, and then bringing it back a few weeks later and putting it up again" costs close to $4,000. And so on.

By means of these and other economies and reforms, the Met, in Mr. Rose's opinion, could not only save enough money to replace the "mouldy costumes and wigs that don't fit" and the "unsightly piles of lumber masquerading as scenery"—he says that the scenery for one opera was bought in 1907 after it had been discarded by an Italian opera house—but could also make a handsome profit. In the end, of course, Mr. Rose would build a new opera house, raising the funds by public subscription, which he thinks would be entirely possible.

In his last column on the subject he outlined three steps. The first would be to "junk the gingerbread monstrosity on Thirty-ninth Street" and build a modern opera house where "Joe" from his moderate-priced seat could see everything that was going on and not wind up, as he does now, with "only a side view of the conductor's head." Step Number 2 is to "tie a can" to the traditional methods of producing grand opera and to stage it in terms of the present-day American theater. Step Number 3 is to adapt and translate the librettos into English.

I would be opposed to Step Number 3. I should have qualms about letting Billy Rose carry out Step Number 2. And no doubt some of his suggestions are not desirable or feasible—as I said at the beginning, I am not an expert. But in general his five-column sally against the Met and its ways was as refreshing and stimulating as a fresh breeze blowing through a stuffy house. I hope the Metropolitan Opera Association won't meet it by adding storm windows.

BRITAIN is getting praise from strange quarters these days. And the praise itself is intriguing. Chief Micka, Negro leader of 50,000 Kenya natives, who is on a visit to London, said the other day: "Britain is a fine country. I have not seen one lazy man sitting under a tree." And in New York the other week, John A. Costello, Prime Minister of Ireland, said that there was no reason why Ireland should not treat England as an equal.

A LARGE advertisement in the newspapers last week was headed: "Women! Protest the Tax on Your Attractiveness!" The copy read in part:

> *Shaving cream and razor blades for men* are tax free, but you have to dip into your 20 per cent taxed handbag for an extra one-fifth . . . for your cold cream and deodorant. . . .
>
> This is election year. And you women have nearly two million more votes than we men have. Use them! Find out where your Presidential candidate, your Congressman, and your Senator stand on this issue. . . . And let them know where *you* stand.

There's an issue for you. And from now on no election opinion poll should be trusted that fails to take account of the cold-cream vote.

"Old High Explosive"

CONCERNING TOWN PLANNING. By Le Corbusier. Yale University Press. $2.75.

A STORMY petrel looks best in a stormy sky. In days of "normalcy" Le Corbusier hovered between the apocalyptic and the ludicrous. Today we have to face reconstruction on a global scale; our techniques have kept pace with the task ahead; in this atmosphere electric with despair and hope anything can happen, even a city by Le Corbusier. It took two world wars to turn him from a gadfly into a prophet. He offers us, in a chaotic and dynamic world, far-sighted planning and unflinching radicalism—the ideals which, with Dewey and Truman, will be snowed under next November.

Thanks to the changing scene, "Concerning Town Planning" is better attuned to reality than any of Le Corbusier's previous books. As the bulk of it was written in response to a searching, explicit, eighteen-point questionnaire, it is far more cogent, far less "lyrical," than most of his writings, without any loss in liveliness. Like Sir Patrick Geddes, Le Corbusier is "Old High Explosive" yet. Pleasantly illustrated with sixty-seven spirited drawings, the book provides food for thought with the right proportion of cocktails. I have never forgiven Le Corbusier his Voisin Plan for Paris. But Paris is unique. There are innumerable cities either so completely shattered that major surgery is imperative or so commonplace that almost any experiment would be an artistic gain.

But Le Corbusier has never been able to distinguish between three factors—his own volcanic personality, the functional principle, and the particular technical solution he has to offer. He is convinced that one must be committed to the Five Orders of Vignola—or to Ye Olde Perpendicular Gothick—if one refuses to shout: "Le Corbusier, right or wrong!" It should be possible to be a functionalist—I am one if function be defined in its full complexity—without adopting in all cases the Le Corbusier formula. Briefly, Le Corbusier believes in the tall building (on stilts: that is his trade mark) rising out of ample parks. He would make this the rule even in colonial towns and European villages. A vertical business district in the form of a single skyscraper would be more efficient than shops and offices spread over many blocks. For one thing, such concentration would bring, he avers, a great economy in utilities. But this would be true only if the Le Corbusier city occupied a contracted area; and in that case all his "parks" would have to be turned into parking space. For even if the American family could walk to school, business, church, movie, market, it would not give up the one essential right conferred upon us by our glorious Constitution—that of owning at least two cars.

Under American conditions the *extensive* city, the urban area of the San Diego–Los Angeles type, a whole province of bungalows with widely scattered neighborhood shopping centers, is not without appeal. They are "a hundred suburbs in search of a city," and Le Corbusier hates the suburban. But the mediocrity and monotony of bungalows can be hidden behind a screen of trees, and Le Corbusier's concrete boxes would be gaunt even on the Redwood Highway. The back yard a few steps away has points compared with the efficient playground ten stories below—or ten above,

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on the roof garden. The tall building is no doubt a masterpiece of efficiency, but it was not created for the sake of efficiency; it is the child of fantastic land values. I am not rejecting the Le Corbusier method outright. The *exceptional* skyscraper—the Custom House in Boston, the Nebraska Capitol, the Los Angeles City Hall—may be efficient as well as impressive. My only point is that there is no panacea, no exclusive orthodoxy, in architecture or city planning.

Even in this catastrophic age Le Corbusier will still appear utopian to the right-minded. For he quotes as his guiding principle the great words of Molière: "One must eat in order to live, not live in order to eat." In briefer, more highbrow terms: the economic should subserve the cultural, not vice versa. Or again: America's business is not Business but gracious living. A major heresy, which is hereby denounced to the Thomas committee.

I noted with delight a minor heresy. Le Corbusier suggests that water towers could very well be rectangular, and located in the upper stories of a municipal building. The red or aluminum-painted tanks on stilts, like an H. G. Wells-Martian nightmare, would disappear. When I deplored that such an atrocity was defacing a small city park in Celaya, between two churches of historical interest, I was told in decisive tones: "Is it not *functional?*" No doubt a concealed tank is an architectural lie; just as decency is a form of hypocrisy. There are limits to overt functionalism.

ALBERT GUERARD, SR.

The White Man's Problem

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. By Arnold Rose. Harper and Brothers. $3.75.

PUBLICATION of this long-awaited condensation of the famous Gunnar Myrdal classic, "An American Dilemma," may serve as a reminder to the worried contemporary that much intelligent and sober investigation still goes on beneath the hysteria-ridden surface, and that the social scientists may yet have the last word to say on the course of man's future. With the appearance of "The Negro in America," by one of Myrdal's chief assistants, some of the most significant findings about the collective behavior of Americans uncovered in this generation are now available to the broadest possible public. For the original "Dilemma" and its current offspring not only bring a rare depth and breadth of understanding and a merciless objectivity to the intricate problem of Negro-white relations in the United States but brilliantly expose the inner workings of our society as a whole. As Myrdal and Rose make abundantly clear, the so-called Negro problem is really the problem of the white man, and in a very palpable sense is a microcosm of all other problems which we must face:

> The American Dilemma is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the values which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian morals, and, on the other hand, the values of individual and group living, where personal and local interests, economic, social, and sexual jealousies, considerations of community prestige and conformity, group prejudice against particular persons or types of people, and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook.

There is danger, however, in too frequent and too broad application of the value premise, the "American Creed." This is illustrated in Dr. Rose's conclusion that "changes for good or evil in the Negro problem depend primarily on changes in people's beliefs and values." While the author does not so intend it, perhaps, this statement might easily be used as justification for delaying action until "enough people" are "educated." It fails to allow sufficiently for the profound educative power of events themselves. Sometimes, as in the case of our war-time FEPC—which was promulgated by executive fiat—the historical process refuses to await a favorable shift in opinion and precipitates those conditions which, in compelling mass conformity, are themselves capable of generating new attitudes.

But Dr. Rose is by no means asking us to sit back and let the "American Creed" work for us. He believes that the creed helps those who help themselves. He therefore stresses the necessity, for example, of directing our main efforts toward securing the full integration of Negroes into the economy, both because economic equality stands first among the Negro's demands and because the national welfare requires it. The Negro's concentration in menial occupations seemingly substantiates the white man's false assumption of his biological inferiority; thus reinforced, the myth of white superiority creates new pressures to force the Negro to stay in "his" place; this, again, produces additional "evidence" of the colored man's lack of ambition or ability to improve himself; and so is perpetuated, through a vicious circle, the social, political, and

F. O.

MATTHIESSEN

reports

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psychological, as well as the economic, suppression of one-tenth of the nation. This unparalleled dissipation of human resources is from any point of view a costly business. Avoidance of such wastefulness can come only when full development of all our natural and human resources and full economic equality for Negroes become synonymous.

Understandably, the South, with its great majority of the nation's Negroes, is subjected to closest scrutiny in "The Negro in America." There, in the days of slavery, were implanted the diseased roots of the prejudice, discrimination, and segregation which have since come to blight the entire nation. Ironically, these roots trip up the white man as often as they do the colored: witness the appalling backwardness of the South in general. Nevertheless, Dr. Rose sees the Southland's "whole unique political system . . . becoming increasingly shaky," owing mainly to gradual re-enfranchisement of the Negro. He regards the trade unions—particularly the C. I. O., because of its uncompromising no-discrimination policy—and the white liberals as the South's twin hope for the future. But "Southern liberalism's main weakness lies in its lack of mass support," and "it simply must get its message out . . . to the people on the farms and in the shops." That these people are susceptible to the equalitarian ideals of the "American Creed" is proved by the fact that "contrary to the opinion usually expressed by Southerners, disapproval on the part of the rest of the nation forces the South to conform more to Northern standards."

This is good to know, but in the act of condemning some new outbreak of Dixie prejudice it might be well for the Northerner simultaneously to examine the beam in his own eye. If polled, Northern whites as a group would probably vote overwhelmingly against most forms of discrimination and segregation. Yet consider—only eighteen Northern and Western states have civil-rights laws on their statute books! Moreover, as Dr. Rose strongly emphasizes, Northerners discriminate all the time as *individuals*, and the cumulative effect of such individual—as distinguished from group—behavior has been to deprive the Northern Negro of proper housing, jobs, education, health facilities, and many other advantages possessed by whites almost as effectively as though the deprivation were sanctioned by community *mores*. Dr. Rose concludes that whites above the Mason and Dixon Line need "more specific education on the effects of their individual discriminations," and he is convinced that "such an educational campaign would be successful in the economic field" in particular.

Naturally, the author has been unable to include, within one-fifth the space, the ten long appendices, the liberal quotations and footnotes, and the extensive bibliography which lend such weight and authority to the original "An American Dilemma." But the main outlines of Myrdal's penetrating discussion of the "rank order of discriminations," of race beliefs, and of the differences between the terms "caste," "class," and "race" are retained in the abridgment, in addition to his informative account of Negro leaders, movements, and theories. All in all, this is a packed, simply written, and absolutely indispensable volume, which, incidentally, gets the warm blessing of Dr. Myrdal in a specially prepared foreword. Were as many to invest in "The Negro in America" as have purchased the abridgment of Toynbee's "A Study of History," perhaps the force of a newly informed national opinion could measurably lessen the conflict between the American's creed and his practice. DANIEL JAMES

The Movement of Peoples

EUROPE ON THE MOVE: WAR AND POPULATION CHANGES, 1917-47. By Eugene M. Kulischer. Columbia University Press. $5.

SCHOLARS are apt to attach particular or even exclusive importance to their specific subject and theory. Herbert Spencer explained the history of mankind by evolution, Gabriel Tarde by his *loi d'imitation*, and in Gibbon's opinion history is little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind. It is not surprising, therefore, that in this study of European migrations we are told that "man's history is the story of his migrations."

Migrations may be, as the author puts it, "at once perpetual, partial, and universal"; yet as a social phenomenon their significance differs with the causes that set the populations in motion. Migrations provoked by famine, by overpopulation, by a conquering or retreating army, by religious or political persecution are by no means equivalent manifestations of the body social. It is at any rate an oversimplification to assume that the "dynamics" of history "are expressed in the great migratory currents."

Again, there is no doubt about the "relationship between war and migration as the transmission of migratory currents through war." Obviously the loss of migratory outlets in the period between the world wars aggravated the situation. However, the overcompensation of the inferiority complex exemplified by the Nazis carried more weight than the *Lebensraum* catchword, of which the author himself correctly remarks that the "sincerity of the German complaint about overpopulation is doubtful." His formulation of the fascist maxim is likewise sound: "We are overpopulated, therefore must expand, and to assure expansion we must be as numerous as possible." Nevertheless, the author concludes reasonably that coordination of birth control with emigration must be applied in the case of Germany, where a population as large as the pre-war one will have to live on a territory reduced by 25 per cent.

In examining and analyzing the migrations in various regions of Europe Professor Kulischer has made meticulous use of all available data. He is not responsible for the conveniently rounded off figures, which remind one of the familiar saying that there are three kinds of lies—white lies, black lies, and statistics. Estimates are not more convincing either: for instance, the number of Russian refugees which a German scholar puts at 2,935,000 is estimated to be 863,000 by a Russian. Even if we took the exactness of statistics for granted we might disagree with the author's thesis that frustrated migration was the major cause of both world wars but nevertheless indorse his final conclusion that a realistic national policy calls for that sharp self-restriction of national egoism which would culminate in "a TVA of human migratory currents." The unprejudiced and thorough analysis which Professor Kulischer offers in a most readable book unquestionably promotes the achievement of this aim. RUSTEM VAMBERY

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The Artist and the Critic

THE UNFOLDING OF ARTISTIC ACTIVITY. By Henry Schaefer-Simmern. With a Foreword by John Dewey. University of California Press. $5.

THIS is a period when we are invited on all sides to question norms, standards, and practices. The anthropologists tell us that supposedly basic human traits (such as competitive aggressiveness) are culturally determined and presumably subject to control and change. The sociologist tells us that our institutions are relative to our social aims and in no sense sacred; if they are good or bad it is in terms of adequacy. The biologist tells us that even sex practices within our own culture vary with relatively minor gradations in social or educational status.

Taste, of course. is notoriously relative, and most critics and writers on aesthetics today regard even principles of composition in art forms as historically determined ("traditional") or arrived at by revolt from the received forms ("modern")—but in any case, to be considered as conventions, that is, as artificial and relative. This view has the apparent advantage that art may be taught, like pharmacy or law, by precept. The student doesn't have to see what he is painting; it is enough for him to know the rules for painting it—I had almost said rules of thumb. These rules will vary with the schools doing the teaching. But the schools are pedagogically the same: the rules are best learned by studying the work of whoever happens to be the revered "master." Great paintings are taken as exemplary, and art education consists largely in copying or imitating. Artistic problems are thus solved in advance of the student's coming upon such problems in the actual work of composition. Anybody who is teachable and has the fee can learn to paint in this way. A handful of very gifted persons can even unlearn and begin to be artists.

It is refreshing in the this-is-the-way-to-do-it atmosphere of contemporary art education to make the acquaintance of Professor Schaefer-Simmern. You will meet him surrounded by groups of persons who, though they come from very different backgrounds, have one thing in common: they are untutored in art. Schaefer-Simmern describes four such groups in this book: business men, refugees, mentally defective young people, and delinquents. He will show you pictures and statues made by these persons. You will see for yourself that there are discernible stages in the solution of artistic problems, and that these solutions are not merely relative to conventions, even conventions set by a given culture. You will learn that they are psychologically basic: that is, they resemble all animal problem-solving in that the organism (in this case, the would-be artist) finds the solution in a relation between himself and the environment (in this case, the work of art).

Schaefer-Simmern has discovered these stages, not in his head or even, primarily, in a study of comparative art, but in actual experiment. The experiments, each of which lasted over a period of many months, are clearly described in the book. They show that when confronted with an actual creative problem—say, of drawing a horse or a tree—the untutored person, even if he is mentally defective, can learn through trial and error to conceive the thing he must do in terms of his own visual judgment. The various problems of the relation of figure to ground and the like will lead him, if he persists in attempting to solve them, to specific kinds or ways of representation. These ways of representing are, in each case, the individual's solution to the artistic problem; they are relative to the problems themselves, not to convention or precept. Such solutions differ only for different stages of "visual conceiving," and the stages are similar under similar conditions for all artists at all times and places.

These results are of the highest theoretical importance. Properly understood, they indicate an approach to a problem long awaiting attention in the philosophy of art. I must say a word about this. Aesthetics is the step-child of philosophy largely because of this problem, which is, crudely expressed, that writers on art have not found a clear means of separating empirical judgments from value judgments. In discussing works of art, it is possible, of course, to describe what *is* done and to oppose this to what *should* be done. At this level (and it is the level of most literary as well as art criticism), the descriptive function of criticism is ancillary to the programmatic function. Criticism is seldom content to rest on this level. The critic wishes to find an empirical base for his valuations, for his program. The history of criticism is the history of discarded systems of such empirical bases: the social responsibility, the externalization of the unconscious, the golden section—to name but three from different areas of experience. Sometimes this search for an experienced foundation in fact is abandoned in the pessimistic doctrine of art for art's sake. This attempt to incorporate an empirical element into criticism is an attempt to base standards on something outside art. And it can be done, all right, but

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only as an imperative. For example, if the critic tells us that a work of art is beautiful in so far as it furthers a (revolutionary) social purpose, this sounds like an empirical observation, but contemporary logical analysis reveals it to be a command, a decision. This fact gives it strength, for decisions can only be rejected, not debated; debate belongs to the cognitive realm. So much for incorporating empirical elements.

But what of the empirical elements present in the works of art themselves? They are supposed to be of the level of "here, the artist uses yellow; here a monolithic structure," or else matters of composition, which I began by saying are today almost universally believed to be relative to cultural or social factors. The theoretical importance of Schaefer-Simmern's book ought now to be evident. If these experiments show what I believe they show, then we have a clear empirical basis for our criticism and will not have to import one. We shall be able to say this: these elements here are the regularities in the artist's practice that are given by his art; these elements here are the forms imposed by his theories of composition. If, afterwards, we want to enforce some social or moral criterion, we shall know where to do so, and our sanctions will not be confused with artists' successes or failures in solving their problems, but only directed toward our preferences for one success over another.

I cannot close my discussion of this book without a word about the social and psychological implications, which perhaps will be of interest to a larger number of readers. Professor Schaefer-Simmern has suggested these implications in his title.

With the "unfolding" comes an enriching of the individual's experience. In his foreword to this volume, John Dewey says of the demonstrations that they provide "the pattern and model of the full and free growth of personality and of full life activity, wherever it occurs, bringing refreshment and, when needed, restoration." Such a personal enriching has implications for the education, not alone of defectives and delinquents, but of all of us and makes a study of these experiments imperative for everyone who is interested in educational and cultural health. The beauty of the book and the plates fortunately makes such a study inviting.

WILLIAM B. HOLTHER

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General Booth

GENERAL EVANGELINE BOOTH OF THE SALVATION ARMY. By P. W. Wilson. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

PHILIP WHITWELL WILSON, the author of this biography of a movement and one of its outstanding leaders, was born in England, graduated from Cambridge, served as a Member of Parliament, and is now on the staff of the New York *Times*—as unlikely a background for writing a glory-hallelujah book about the Salvation Army as one could devise. Yet it is against just such a background that Mr. Wilson, who says that he has had the most intimate view of "the inner life of the Salvation Army," writes his wholly uncritical eulogy of Evangeline Booth.

Separatist religious movements, from the days of the Reformation through the "coming out" of the Pilgrims to the present rather thin-blooded groups of evangels, have had their important roles in the life of the plain people in latter-day democracies. More often than not the pie-in-the-sky promises of the Salvationists have served to convert potentially good radicals into breast-thumping exhibitionists. The first opposition to the Salvation Army, founded by Evangeline's father, William, in 1865, was not confined to England's liquor dealers and brothel-keepers, as Mr. Wilson intimates. Many intelligent workers, ministers too, recognized that the Army might well become the diversive, anti-social force that it all too frequently is today, serving docility with the doughnuts, demanding surrender as the price of salvation. If the author had thrown in a touch of Tawney, the sound of the tambourines on almost every page of the book might not have been so deafening. As it is, most readers will find in the life of Evangeline the story of early persecutions bravely faced, of gradual accretion of power within a regimented, disciplined group of essentially primitive-minded persons, rather grotesquely dressed up as soldiers, and of a fierce, factional warfare among the inner-circle functionaries.

However, Mr. Wilson gives his story a happy ending. To indicate how far Evangeline had come from her street-corner days, he paints this glorious picture:

> In 1939 I [P. W. Wilson] was eye-witness of the great scene as it always is on the campus of Columbia University when many thousands of the faculty, alumni, students, and friends attend commencement. President Nicholas Murray Butler stood before Evangeline Booth, arrayed in her appointed academic gown, and she was decorated with the hood of an honorary Doctor of Laws.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN THE essay on Brahms which is one of those reprinted in "Contingencies" (Oxford, $5) Cecil Gray writes of the "sharp antithesis" in Brahms's music "between his essentially gentle and quiescent temperament with its predominant mood of retrospective and wistful melancholy, and the perpetual striving after the ideal of a grandiose, neo-classic art which constantly impelled him to desert the smaller lyrical forms in which he was an accomplished master, in favor of the larger orchestral forms to which his talents were not so much unequal as fundamentally unsuited." The observation is a correct one that has been made by other writers, who have thought it self-evident that the talents of a lyricist might be unsuited to the writing of large orchestral forms and have let it go at that. Gray, however, finds it necessary to show why they were unsuited.

"For in the first place," he continues, "the symphony, or at least its initial movement, is essentially a dramatic form. Both in its derivation from the old dance forms and in its consummation in Mozart and certain works of Beethoven, its characteristic feature is the contrast and opposition of two dominant themes; the first strong and masculine, the second gentle and feminine. . . . The whole development of the work is the outcome of the interaction

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of these two strongly contrasted principles; between them they beget the whole course of the movement. The development section is, so to speak, the child of the union of two musical sexes."

But one has only to think of the quiet first theme of the first movement of Mozart's E flat Symphony; the so-called second theme, in the first movement of the G minor, that is heard no more after its statement, and the development section that is derived entirely from the first theme; the quiet opening theme of Beethoven's "Pastoral," and the development section derived entirely from that; and above all the number and character of the themes of the first movement of the "Eroica," and the development section that is not begotten by the interaction of two themes, one masculine and one feminine—to realize that Gray is talking about the themes of the symphony's first movement and their activity as these exist only in his mind, where, together with those of Brahms, they have been invented to provide the premises "A symphony is x and y" and "Brahms could not produce x and y," which will yield the conclusion "Brahms could not write a symphony."

This ad hoc invention of general truths, principles or definitions and particular data to obtain desired conclusions is something one finds throughout Gray's writing. The conclusions are often a negation of an accepted idea—and certainly many accepted ideas call for negation; the writing, however, has, much of the time, the character of a tooth-and-nail debater's scoring of points—and I have shown what that can mean in method and substance. (Gray's "History of Music" is one long contradiction of almost every accepted idea about European music, and completely undocumented. One of the ideas that he contradicts is that early Church music was an adaptation of earlier Græco-Roman music; and he gives differences between them to show they were not related, without citing his source or authority. Only if one happens to look up the standard works on the period does one discover that the differences are the ones given in those works, and that Gray has simply omitted the similarities which, with the differences, lead the authors to conclude that early Church music was an adaptation of existing Græco-Roman means to new ends). The tooth-and-nail-debate character of the writing is evident also in its tone: Gray has produced not only some of the worst writing on music but some of the most unpleasant; and I think the essay "Contingencies" in the present volume sets a new record for sheer nastiness.

But there is also the occasional penetration that one finds in the essays on Bellini and Verdi, and the discussion of Brahms as a song-writer, in which Gray wins a debate with Ernest Newman on the relation of music to poem in a song and the value of the songs of Hugo Wolf.

The young Mozart's extraordinary Overture to his one grand opera, "Idomeneo," with its tremendous dramatic gestures, the quiet melodic passage which continues with a breath-taking modulation, the series of poignant dissonances near the end, is on one side of a London Decca single record (K-1410, $2.10); and on the other side is the not-much-older Mozart's Overture to "The Impresario," of the same year and incandescent comedy style as "The Marriage of Figaro." The performances by the National Symphony under Boyd Neel are very good and are excellently reproduced.

Purcell's Sonata in G minor, much of it very fine, is performed in an arrangement for violin and piano by Frederick Grinke and Arnold Goldsborough on another single (K-1404, $2.10). The performance is good and well reproduced. And on still another single (K-1397, $2.10) are Purcell's "I See She Flies from Me," "On the Brow of Richmond Hill," "Retir'd from Any Mortal's Sight" from "King Richard II," and "Sylvia, Now Your Scorn Give Over." The slower second part of "I See She Flies from Me" is a piece of great vocal writing; the rest is pleasantly undistinguished. All of it is sung with beauty of voice and impressive musical style by Astra Desmond, contralto, to characterless piano accompaniments by Harold Craxton.

The Third Edition of the Gramophone Shop Encyclopedia of Recorded Music (Crown, $5) offers a compilation, without critical comment, of what is currently listed in domestic and foreign record-catalogues (though not all of it available in record stores). A new feature is an index of performing artists.

CONTRIBUTORS

ALBERT GUERARD is the author of a number of books, including a volume on city planning called "The Future of Paris." He recently published his autobiography, "Personal Equation."

RUSTEM VAMBERY, formerly professor of criminology at the University of Budapest, has lived for some time in America. He is the author of "Hungary —To Be or Not to Be."

WILLIAM B. HOLTHER is a member of the Department of Speech at the University of California.

MCALISTER COLEMAN, a left-wing journalist, is the author of "Men and Coal."

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Letters to the Editors

Message to Wroclaw

[*Stephen Spender, British poet and critic, was one of the writers from the West who were invited to attend the sessions of the Cultural Congress for Peace recently held in Wroclaw, Poland. Mr. Spender could not attend—but sent to the Congress a message for its consideration. He was kind enough to give a copy of this message to* The Nation *for publication. It reads as follows:*]

I REGARD the fact that the Cultural Congress for Peace should be held today in Poland as a most encouraging sign in a world where there are too few reasons for encouragement. The Catholic, liberal, Socialist, Christian Democrat, and Communist intellectuals now meeting in Wroclaw could not discuss any subject which more demands the interest and attention of persons whose minds are perhaps more disinterested than the minds of professional politicians.

In previous years, like many of you who are now meeting, I have attended congresses to discuss other problems of peace—for example, the menace to the peace of the world offered by fascism, the destruction of the Spanish Republic, and so on. Yet the atmosphere in those days was different from that of the times in which you are now meeting. This difference was partly that we were then united in the cause of anti-fascism and now the intellectuals are divided in mind. It was partly also that the intellectuals were then in many respects offering a lead to the conscience of the world, while now we may feel ourselves to be in the position of having to make a choice between Russia and America.

Today few intellectuals can hope to influence the resolved and powerful policies of those two sides which are called, so euphemistically, the East and the West. There is the possibility that some of them will feel called on to support one of these causes against the other, and that they may abandon as unrealistic the thought of there being a cause within which the independent conscience of the intelligentsia can take a clear and uncompromised part. Today we are in danger of feeling that all we can do is follow one or the other side in this division of forces, which today is ideological warfare and tomorrow may become real war.

My message to you, offered with humility, is to suggest that you resist the idea that any power which tries to intimidate or force by political, police, or economic influence smaller or less strong nations to form a bloc against another power represents the true interests of the peoples of the world. It seems to me that the time has come when, as intellectuals, we should reject and protest against power politics, police politics, and such politics by force as may accompany offers of economic aid to war-impoverished nations.

We should oppose such politics on two grounds: first, that they are inevitably the politics of dictators, cliques, generals, and ruling classes, whether they pretend to be in the name of proletariat or of economic individualists; secondly, because we are bound, as upholders of intellectual standards, to insist that such politics create a vocabulary of propaganda to apply to every situation which they create; calling their preparations for war and their political blocs, peace; their intimidation by police or by money, democracy; their armaments, by which they terrify the whole world, security.

If today we find it impossible to support the great politically active forces which were once united against fascism, we can be confident nevertheless that in the search for a peace founded on genuine efforts for conciliation we speak for the millions of people who today have no political voice. They have no voice because fear and the temptations of power have created a deep division in the world, not just between the two great world powers but between both those powers and the peoples of the world.

We can be sure also that in the humble and simple insistence on calling such things as war, peace, freedom, democracy, policemen, and dollars by their right names we are carrying on a struggle for honest and truthful thinking without which a hopeless intellectual confusion is added to the existing political confusion. Indeed, one may say that unless political discussion is cleansed of the propaganda of power politics, it may become impossible for the nations of the world to understand one another's ways of thinking.

I therefore suggest that the time has come for the intellectuals to take the lead in opposing power politics, from whatever side they are conducted, and in endeavoring to define straightly the terms which are at present applied by both sides to their particular policies.

If you who are here are in no superficial sense Catholics, or liberals, or Christian Democrats, or Socialists, or, I add, Communists, I think that within the truth of your convictions there will be a reality irreconcilable with the politics which today go by the names of the East and the West. And if this is so, I think you have no need to be discouraged by your apparent isolation from the great powers of the world. Because your deepest intellectual convictions express the needs of the people everywhere and the truth at all times.

STEPHEN SPENDER

New York, September 2

Somoza's Newest Victim

Dear Sirs: A great wrong is being done to a truly great liberal and noted educator of the tragic little country, Nicaragua. Samoza again rises as a ruthless tyrant, bent on destroying all who disagree with his cruel and oppressive rule over his country and people.

During my long visit in Nicaragua in 1941 I became well acquainted with Dr. Edelberto Torres and his wife and two children. His great hopes for bettering the sad conditions among his oppressed people, his courageous efforts to improve the educational facilities there, and his high personal integrity deeply impressed me, and, with Mr. Salvador Mendieta, I consider him the outstanding intellectual and liberal leader of Nicaragua.

I was lecturing in clubs and colleges in Nicaragua on such topics as women's rights, education for democracy, social legislation, and peace. I refused to enter into any discussion of World War II and neither condemned nor praised. Because I was speaking to large labor audiences I was labeled in a yellow journal

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a "dangerous" fifth columnist. Dr. Torres, who frequently had introduced me, Dr. Mendieta, and many other prominent leaders immediately rose publicly to my defense. Somoza invited me to a personal interview in his palace, and, strangely enough, he believed me completely. We had a most astonishing discussion, and Somoza made the yellow sheet *retract completely* its false accusations.

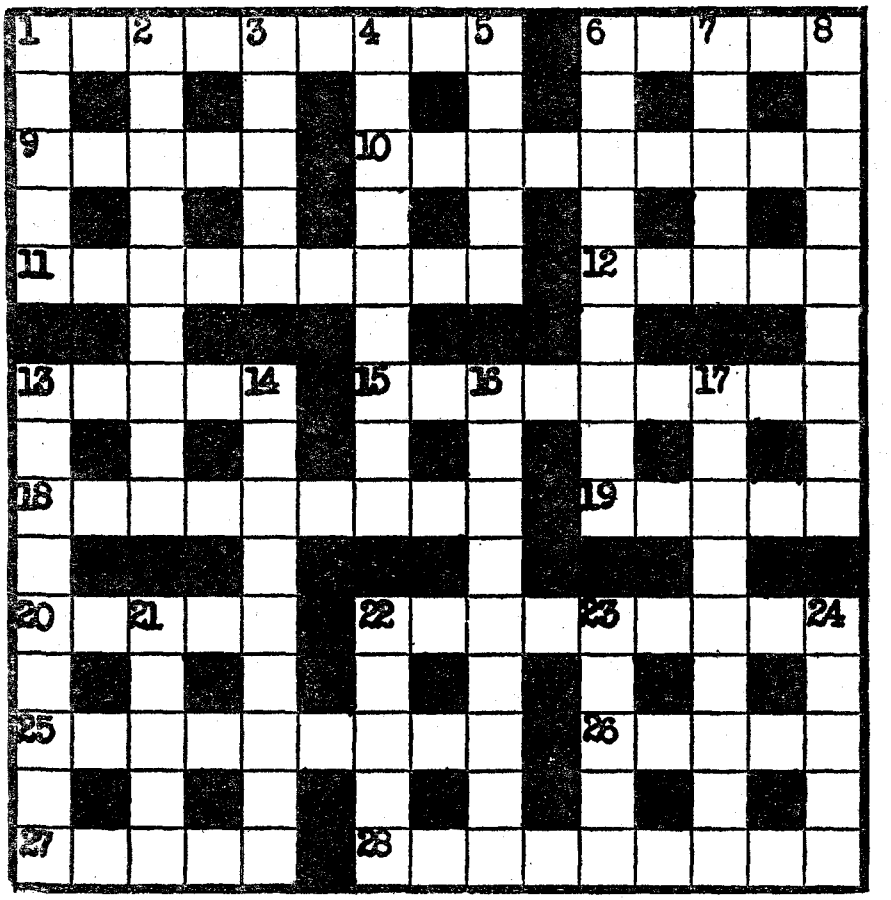
Dr. Torres and his family became my fast friends, and I asked Somoza to consider appointing Torres as a delegate from Nicaragua to an important inter-American conference on education, held in Detroit during the summer of 1941. Somoza did appoint Torres, and the latter had a very happy and fruitful experience, as I arranged for him to meet many outstanding liberals and leaders here. As soon as Torres returned to Nicaragua, Samoza began persecuting him. I had returned to the United States but learned that Torres and his family had fled to San Salvador by way of Mexico and Guatemala, where the new liberal President, Arevelo, is his great friend and admirer. I had many long interviews with Torres last summer in Guatemala, and he was deeply disturbed about Nicaragua and Honduras and the continued approval these regimes receive from our Department of State. He told me things were about to break in Costa Rica. When the upset did happen, I had long letters from him and he said Somoza did all in his power to help the reactionaries.

In the middle of July Dr. Torres boarded a Pan-American plane in Guatemala City, bound for Costa Rica, to assist the new progressive regime there. En route the plane stopped at Nicaragua for passengers, and during this brief stop police boarded the plane, seized Dr. Torres, and sent him to one of the pestilential p r i s o n s—Somoza's "bird cage," where he forces the prisoners to "talk" by using the most bestial tortures. Torres is frail of body, and fears are freely printed in the Central American press that he cannot long survive Somoza's tortures; or he may be summarily shot, as Somoza so freely does to all he dislikes. Somoza is now Minister of War, under a puppet President our Department of State has recognized.

I have written to many who know Dr. Torres, and I feel our United States press must make this terrible story a case in point. The current horrors in Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, and Honduras flourish in our *silence*. I feel the American Education Association and other civil-liberties groups must protest.

Crossword Puzzle No. 279

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A queer chap to have as a lodger. (9)
6 One might take 24, for a change, to eradicate them. (5)
9 Miltonic direction for melancholy. (5)
10 Not regularly engaged in jungle-warfare? (9)
11 Startle. (9)
12 Send back part of your motor if it turns over. (5)
13 Does the porter come to this with his job? (5)
15 Nonsense! (9)
18 Blondel de Nesle was one of the better known. (9)
19 Claims. (5)
20 Bill can't get out of the house without one, it sometimes appears! (5)
22 At the crack of dawn, no doubt. (9)
25 This is swell for the long-haired. (9)
26 Occasionally one uses an iron to do it. (5)
27 Ropes and sails are made from it. (5)
28 These guys were the kind who would go along with their coach. (9)

DOWN

1 One way to make coloring something other than a chore. (5)
2 Supposed to be like a lion's tooth. (9)
3 Straight to rear. (5)
4 No wonder a baker's dozen is sort of appealing! (9)
5 Is this what makes Dewey so run-down? (5)
6 Picture a light shining in the doorway! (9)
7 Not only males were shaken by its trials. (5)
8 Hakenkreuze. (9)
13 Sounds like James goes to pieces. (9)
14 It's racial, but also denouncing abuses. (9)
16 Catspaw? (9)
17 Perhaps prove a tie, when secret. (9)
21 Short rations for the legislatures. (5)
22 This makes the sound go wild. (5)
23 Spoke for one of these? (5)
24 See 6.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 278

ACROSS:—1 CRIMINAL INTENT; 9 NOVICES; 10 ALMONER; 11 INDORE; 12 HUNDREDS; 14 REBOUND; 15 TENTS; 17 NASTY; 19 BOWDOIN; 21 BRASSART; 23 and 13 CHANEL NUMBER FIVE; 25 EFFENDI; 26 PIRATES; 27 BESIDE ONE'S SELF.

DOWN:—2 INVADER; 3 INCURABLY; 4 ALSO; 5 and 1 IN A RUN-DOWN CONDITION; 6 TIMID; 7 NANKEEN; 8 IRIS; 15 TWO SHARPS; 16 and 21 SADDLES OF BEEF; 18 SNAFFLE; 20 NANETTE; 22 SINAI; 24 SPAN.

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- Reviews of the more important books of the season will be featured by THE NATION in its regular Fall Book Number to appear on October 16.
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THE Nation

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Isn't this something for the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations? Delegates from the Pan-American Union and Unesco have already sent an appeal for clemency to President Victor Rayon y Reyes of Nicaragua.

FRANCIS B. STEWART

Otter Lake, New York, September 7

No Arms for China

Dear Sirs: We are Chinese and American students from various universities in the United States. We were recently employed at a Winchester Arms factory, and some of us were working in the fifty-caliber ammunition shop. We discovered that this ammunition was being sent to the Kuomintang government of China.

Our moral convictions forced a number of us, after careful consideration, to quit our jobs. This decision has been fortified by the whole-hearted support of the rest of the group. However, some felt that continued contact with those in the shop would also further the cause; so they stayed on their jobs to explain our action to our fellow-workers.

We have come to realize that the struggle in China is not a struggle between two political parties but is really one between the people and the corrupt and reactionary elements in the Kuomintang government. United States military aid to China does not spread democracy but helps to keep a dictatorship in power. In fact, the intervention of the United States government prolongs the civil war, for many of the Communists' supplies are obtained from captured Kuomintang outfits as well as bribed Kuomintang officials. American arms are thus being used on both sides to help Chinese kill Chinese! Is this an example of the democratic principles and the Christian brotherhood in which we profess belief?

The Chinese people believe that a democratic coalition government is the best solution, a government in which all classes and parties would be represented. Therefore, we oppose the policy of any American military intervention in China. Every American-made bullet will create hatred for America in the hearts of the Chinese people.

ALICE LAM	LILLIAN FISKE
LUY CHUNG	NGUYAN VAN LI
BETTY WATSON	ANNE HEITKAMP
LOISE OSTERGREN	PETER CHOU
ERIC KOO	HSAIS-CHUN TANG
PENNY STILLMAN	CHENTUNG YEN
EDWARD CHAN	

New Haven, September 3

Belligerence for Women?

Dear Sirs: The women of 1848 knew the propaganda value of words like "subjection" and "tyranny." Ramona Barth, following the lead of Mary Beard, overlooks this in her article, The Feminist Crusade, in your issue of July 17. She places far too much emphasis on the complaisance of women to "masculine superiority" in the early feminist movement.

The women who called the first woman's-rights convention were well-read and well educated for their day but limited in their knowledge of ancient and medieval history. They knew there had been great queens who had governed their people well, and they were aware that exceptional women in the past had ventured into new fields. But what was more important to them, and rightly so, was the fact that as married women they were oppressed by unjust laws which gave their husbands tyrannical powers, and that popular opinion regarded this as God's will. It was also obvious to them that single women suffered "taxation without representation."

Much as women rebelled against laws which made them a subject class, their crusade was not born in antagonism toward men or limited by an inferiority complex. Rather was it born in the spirit of self-respect, in protest against injustice, born of that characteristically American doctrine, equality before the law.

It is true that Elizabeth Cady Stanton's woman-suffrage resolution, considered so radical in 1848, soon became the rallying cry for women throughout the country. This was a very natural development, because suffrage was the one channel through which women could gain the power necessary to change laws, win respect, and share in democratic government. The early woman's-rights movement, however, was not based on one idea only, as Mrs. Barth has implied. Its platform included many controversial subjects affecting women, such as property laws, woman's right to her wages, marriage, divorce, infanticide, prostitution, women's trade unions, women and the church, women's education, and opening the professions and business to women. Nor did the feminists overlook the political platforms of their day or local and national affairs. The files of their short-lived paper, the *Revolution*, and the subjects of the lectures they delivered on the Lyceum circuit in the eighties show clearly the breadth of their interests. It was this

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breadth of interest that estranged Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and others, and led them into a separate organization. Not until the younger women of a new organization took over the woman's-rights movement did the feminist organizations reunite and concentrate on woman suffrage. Elizabeth Cady Stanton in her later years often protested at this policy, warning that if women kept their eyes and minds only on the ballot, they would not be adequately prepared to use it.

It is the fashion today as in 1848 to ridicule feminism, to diagnose women's needs as purely psychological. In 1848 the women who took part in the first woman's-rights convention were called aged spinsters crossed in love, wishing to ape man. Actually they were happily married, but intelligent and self-respecting enough to rebel at injustice. When, in the Reconstruction days after the Civil War, women asked to be enfranchised with the Negro, Horace Greeley, once the friend of woman suffrage, declared that women's dissatisfaction was largely psychological and that the "sure panacea" was "a wickerwork cradle and a dimple-cheeked baby." The twentieth-century version of this doctrine may be found in such books as "Modern Woman—The Lost Sex."

When Mrs. Stanton was criticized by the more conservative suffragists for being too belligerent, she asked, "Is there any instance in all history of an oppressed class being secured in all their rights without assuming a belligerent attitude?" Then she called attention to the belligerence of the participants in the Boston Tea Party, of our Revolutionary heroes, of William Lloyd Garrison, and urged her colleagues to follow their example. That woman's victory has not been fully won is no doubt partly due to lack of determination on the part of women and to the psychological maladjustments of both men and women. There must be reappraisals today, and new goals and new methods, but they should be guided by a correct interpretation of the past.

ALMA LUTZ

Berlin, New York, September 2

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AUSTIN COLCLOUGH

Twickenham, England, September 5

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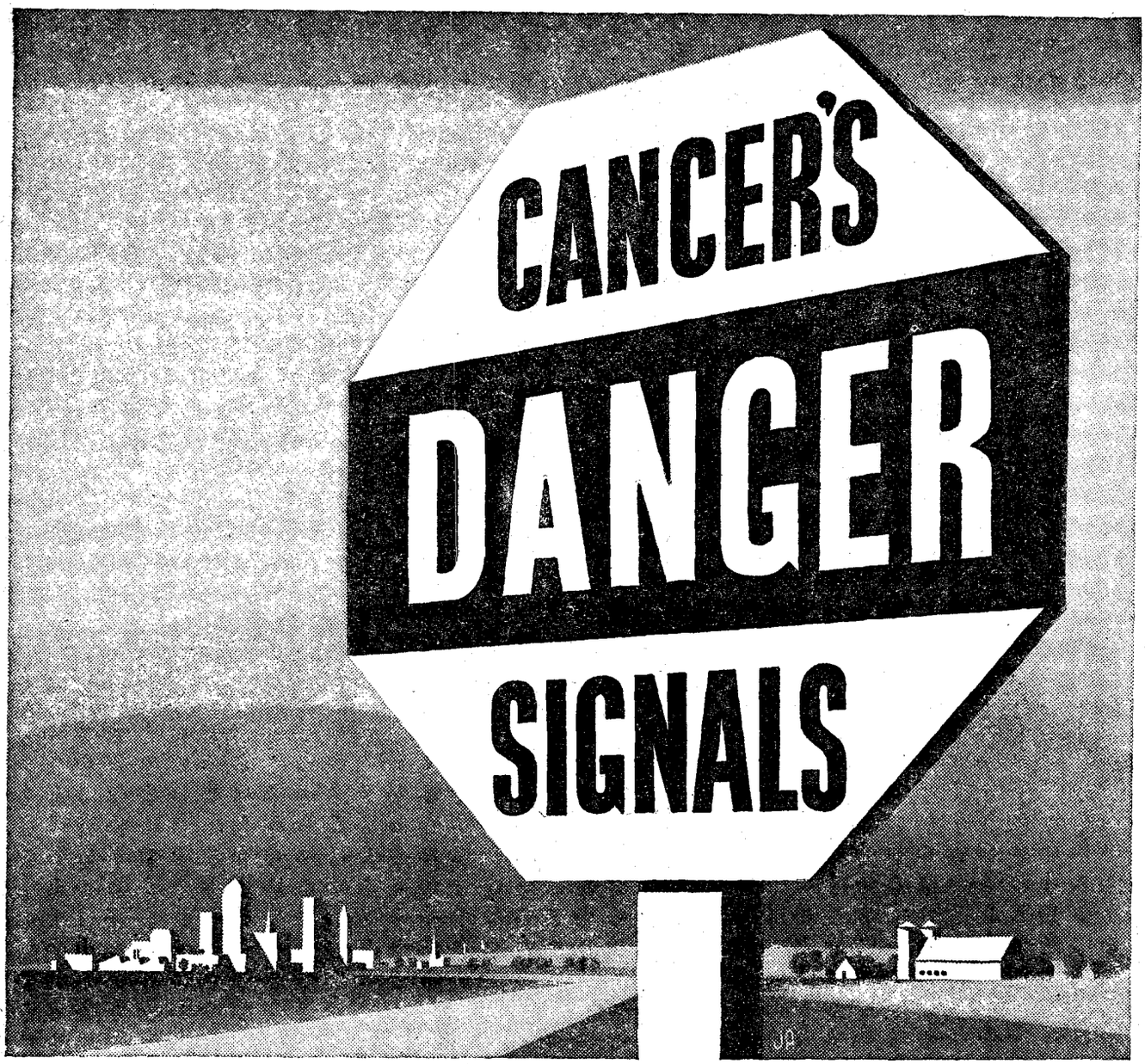

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2. A painless lump or thickening, especially in the breast, lip, or tongue. Do not wait "to see what happens." Go to the doctor.

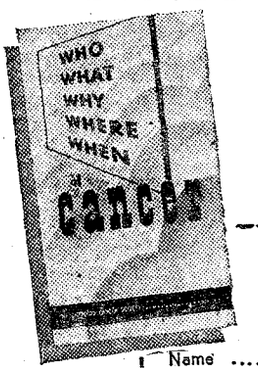
3. Irregular bleeding or discharge from any natural body opening. Do not wait for pain. Go to the doctor.

4. Persistent indigestion. Do not wait for loss of weight. Go to the doctor.

5. Progressive change in the color or size of a wart, mole or birthmark. Don't try salves or ointments. Go to the doctor.

6. Persistent hoarseness, unexplained cough, or difficulty in swallowing. Do not assume that it is due to smoking or some other form of irritation which will clear up. Go to the doctor.

7. Any change in the normal bowel habits. Do not attempt to diagnose yourself. Go to the doctor.



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